



TO THE
PEOPLE OF SALISBURY.

Kensington, 1st June, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

I NOW proceed to fulfil the promise that I made you last week, relative to the conduct of the venison-eaters at your last boroughmonger-election; for boroughmonger-election it was, as much as that for Malmsbury or Downton. In the list of members put into the House by peers, which list was published by Lord Grey and the "Friends of the People," in 1793, the Earl of RADNOR is stated to put in one of the members for Salisbury; and one of them he has put in for, perhaps, fifty years, while he himself, father and son, have been Recorder of the city. The other member has been put in by the venison-eaters themselves, or by some one in compact with them. For some time, this other member has been a Mr. WYNDHAM. The present Lord Radnor was the Radnor-member from 1800, until the death of his father, and since that his brother has filled the post.

The venison-eaters, seeing that it was impossible longer to preserve this part of their power, and Lord Radnor being a reformer, presented, some time back, and before the dissolution of Parliament, a petition in favour of the Reform Bill; thus imitating the conduct of some of the boroughmongers; offering to surrender that which they saw they could no longer keep; like the *hunted beaver*, in the fable, throwing to the pursuers the part which they sought, in order to preserve the rest of the carcass.

Well, then, having petitioned for the Reform Bill, they would, when the dissolution came, choose, of course, two

reform candidates. Ah! that was another thing! With men of sincerity, this would have been a matter of course; but not so with the *venison-eaters*. WYNDHAM was, and is, against the Reform Bill; yet WYNDHAM has been chosen by those very venison-eaters, who petition for the bill! and that, too, clearly with the concurrence and aid of the reforming Bouveries. This is a very curious matter: thanks to the people, and to the people alone, it will produce no mischievous effect; but, if all the elective bodies had acted as these parties have done, the dissolution would have produced no good at all; the same members would have come back again; and the Reform Bill would have been defeated.

The opponent of WYNDHAM was one BRODIE, a newspaper publisher, a stationer, and a banker of Salisbury. This man, the son of a parson, brought forth in pride and reared up in insolence, has been one of the most notoriously impudent aristocrats that ever walked the earth; and it now appears that, some time back, he pushed his intolerance and audacity so far, as to refuse to dine at LONGFORD CASTLE (Lord Radnor's house near Salisbury), because Lord FOLKESTONE (the old Lord was then alive) had subscribed fifty pounds towards the expenses of my election at Preston! This BRODIE, however, seeing wind and tide setting in for Reform, became, all of a sudden, a zealous reformer; and, fired with the ambition of being a law-giver, put himself forward as a candidate for the suffrages of the venison-eaters, of whom, by-the-by, *he himself was one*. He concluded (too hastily) that, as WYNDHAM was decidedly and openly against the bill, the venison-eaters, who had petitioned for it, would vote for him, in preference to WYNDHAM; that all those who voted for BOUVERIE would, of course, vote for him; and that the BOUVERIES would, of course, make common cause with him against the partizan of the boroughmongers.



In all these respects, poor BRODIE rushed too hastily to conclusions. He being so humble-minded himself, made no allowances for aristocratical pride in others; being himself so single-hearted and sincere a soul, he never dreamed, apparently, that there was such a thing as *hypocrisy* in any human breast. When, however, he came to the poll, he found himself deceived. He found that BOUVERIE and WYNDHAM split votes against him; and that the friend of the bill and the enemy of the bill, embracing with all possible cordiality, left him to go back to his shop and to vent his complaints in the columns of his newspaper. But the curious thing is, that the great charge, urged by his opponents against BRODIE was, that he had refused to dine at Longford Castle on the ground above stated; that he had thus discovered his mortal enmity to my principles; hence inferring that he could not be a sincere reformer. Thus did the BOUVERIES furnish WYNDHAM with the arrow to shoot at BRODIE through my sides; and that, too, for the manifest purpose of getting into the new Parliament a man that told them that he would vote against that very bill, on their support of which they founded their own claim to popular favour.

To characterise the conduct of these parties is impossible, without dealing in harsher language than I choose to make use of; but I must, by-and-by, make some further remarks on this conduct, especially as it affords a memorable lesson to you, the people of Salisbury, and points out to you what ought to be your conduct, when you come to choose members for a reformed Parliament. BRODIE, defeated in his views, has resorted to the columns of his newspaper, in which he has published his election-speech. I will now insert that speech; and then I shall have some further remarks to offer.

He was obliged, though much against his inclination, to speak on matters which personally concerned himself; but, as his character had been attacked, he trusted that he should have the indulgence of the gentlemen, whom he now had the honour of addressing. In the first place, Mr. Wyndham had asked

him, if he (Mr. B.) had not formerly said, that "he would never again dine within the walls of Longford Castle, alleging as a reason, that Lord Folkestone had subscribed 50l. for the purpose of facilitating the election of Mr. Cobbe for Preston?"—"I answer this question in the affirmative," said Mr. Brodie; "nay more—I told Captain Bouverie, the first time he asked me to vote for him as representative of our city, that I had heard that he had subscribed 10l. for the same purpose. I related to the hon. Gentleman what passed between me and his noble brother, and I added, that 'were he (Captain Bouverie) my brother, unless he had changed his sentiments as to Mr. Cobbe, I would not vote for him.' The hon. Gentleman is there in his place, not far from me, and will vouch for the truth of what I have said. (The hon. Gentleman here nodded assent.) But, Gentlemen, I cannot at all understand why Mr. Wyndham should have asked me this question. What connexion is there between Mr. Cobbe and the great measure of Parliamentary Reform? I must confess I see none, unless Mr. Wyndham, by some confusion of ideas, thinks that the words 'Cobbe and Reform' are synonymous." Mr. Brodie then alluded, in most feeling terms, to what he considered an unkind attack made on him by Mr. Wyndham, who, he said, had accused him of a breach of friendship, and had insinuated that, on that account, he was unworthy of any public trust. Now, he must confess, that, after the honourable—nay, the kind and delicate manner in which he had behaved himself towards Mr. Wyndham from the very commencement of this business, he did expect a far different kind of treatment. It appeared to him, and he should always think so, that Mr. Wyndham's mind had been warped by other persons, and that his own genuine good-temper had not had fair play; but the time would soon come when, on reflection, he would be sorry for what he had this day said, and would acknowledge to him (Mr. Brodie) that he was so. He said, that Mr. Wyndham must recollect, that he (Mr. Brodie), within an hour of his having received the requisition from a certain number of respectable householders of Salisbury, had called at the College, to tell Mr. Wyndham of what had occurred; that he urged him (Mr. Wyndham), with every argument he could make use of, not to oppose the Reform Bill; that he pointed out to him not only the harmlessness, but the great utility, and, in fact, the absolute necessity of the measure; that he told him, were he to continue his opposition to it, he must ultimately lose his seat; that when the elective franchise was extended, the town would not have him, but would seek for another candidate; and that, in that case, the field was as open to him (Mr. Brodie) as to any other person. Mr. Wyndham would recollect, that his reply to those remonstrances was, "that the question was one involved in difficulty; that he should not to think for himself on it; and that he

Robert Peel was the person, above all others, in whose opinion he generally placed the highest confidence; and that he should probably be guided by him." Mr. Brodie said that, on receiving this answer, he left Mr. Wyndham; that he then wrote the address which appeared in the Salisbury Journal of the 18th of April, on which, it having been before the public, it was competent for them to form their own judgment. For himself, he could only say, that every word in that address was dictated in the truest spirit of sincerity. Mr. Brodie here produced a letter from his pocket, which had reference to this address. He said it was a private letter, and that it was highly laudatory of himself; but that, nevertheless, as his character for honour had been impeached, he would read that part of it which he thought the writer could not object that all the world should know. The letter was very important, as it was from the pen of a gentleman of high moral character, strict integrity, and stern veracity,—a gentleman, whom persons of all parties must esteem and respect. Mr. Brodie here read part of the letter in question, which, as he had before observed, was in high commendation of his public address in the Salisbury Journal.

Mr. Brodie said, that he hoped he had now proved that his conduct towards Mr. Wyndham had been any thing but dishonourable. He had, however, one more thing to speak on. The printed paper which he held in his hand had been sent to him, he said, that very morning, and he begged the attention and patience of his friends whilst he read it, which he would do, making no comments on it till he had finished it. Mr. Brodie then read the paper alluded to as follows:—

"Look here upon this Picture, and on this,

"The counterfeit presentment of two Friends.—

"Hamlet.

"WHO WAS MR. BRODIE?"

"The son of a Tory parson, bred in ultra Tory principles, with which his conduct has been savoured through life, and with which principles he has aimed to govern the City of Salisbury. An avaricious monopolist in trade and politics, crushing all those, and particularly the little tradesman, who at all interfered with his views."

"WHO IS MR. BRODIE?"

"A banking stationer, having attained a business by accident and heirship, now by profession a Reformer, but in reality an ultra Tory in Reform dress. A wolf in sheep's clothing. A betrayer of his friend, and a candidate for ambition's sake. One who will betray his trust whenever it may suit his avarice or his ambition."

"WHO IS MR. WYNDHAM?"

"A Gentleman of one of the most ancient and wealthy families in the kingdom; born among us; who spends a large fortune liberally in his native city; who contributes largely to the poor; and is kind and generous in his habits to all. A Gentleman who

"has acted honourably and disinterestedly upon all occasions. One who has never betrayed his trust. A friend to moderate reform. Loyal in his practice, and patriotic in his views."

"N. B. Now pray, reader, which of the two is the fittest man to send to Parliament?"

Gentlemen, said Mr. Brodie, my first observation on this paper is—that Mr. Wyndham is the honourable person therein described. I subscribe to the whole of it; I throw not dirt on any man, and most certainly not on a person such as Mr. Wyndham is. I repeat, that I consider him to be a man such as he is described to be in the anonymous paper I have just read. But, now, Gentlemen, I must be allowed to say a few words for myself. The libeller says, "Who was Mr. Brodie?" and answers, "the son of a Tory Parson and bred in ultra-Tory principles." Gentlemen, it is well known, that the word "Parson" is always used by the way of contempt, when applied to the members of the Church. Now, Gentlemen, I will begin by exposing the falsehood of the libeller in the very outset. This "Tory Parson" was the intimate friend of the late Lord Holland, the intimate friend of the late Mr. Charles Fox, and a staunch Whig; and I myself was bred up in staunch Whig principles. This parson, Gentlemen, was a most respectable country clergyman, an active and able county Magistrate, and deputy Lieutenant for more than thirty years of his life. As in his public, so did he shine forth an illustrious example to others in his private life, educating all his children himself, sending none of them either to school or to a university. Thanks be to God Almighty and to him, we have all prospered in the world, under the honourable principles he instilled into us. Gentlemen, I am charged with having "aimed to govern the city of Salisbury;"—that is—that I wanted to be king of Salisbury. Why really, Gentlemen, this is too ridiculous; and I should dismiss the subject at once, as it deserves, were it not for a few absurd reports that have reached my ears. It has, I know, been said, that I put myself forward to stop the annual disgraceful proceedings here on the 5th of November, that I exposed my person in the riots of November last, for several days and nights, and, lastly, that I raised the Volunteer Corps—for what?—for political purposes. Gentlemen, I will not insult you by dwelling longer on such absurdities. Then "I have been an avaricious monopolist in trade and politics, and I have crushed all those who interfered with my views, particularly the little tradesmen." I ask—is there a tradesman here, now present in this room, who will charge me with such villany? (Cries of no, no!) I believe none are to be found. Gentlemen, this, it appears, is "what Mr. Brodie was." Now let us see what "Mr. Brodie is," "A Banking Stationer." Yes, Gentlemen, I am a Banker and a Stationer, and I hope an honest Stationer, an honest Tradesman, such

as, I believe, most of the persons now present in this room to be ; and let me tell the writer of this paper, that an honest Tradesman is a far more respectable person than THE DISHONEST MAN WHOM CHANCE HAS PLACED IN A HIGHER SPHERE OF LIFE.

As to what this fellow says, about his *reverend* father having been a *magistrate* and *lieutenant*, and about his *Whig principles*, these are strong presumptive proofs against him ; while his *protestations* against the charge of being a domineering monopoliser and a treacherous friend, are (unsupported by proof) not worth a single straw ; and, for anything that he had proof of, the above answer to "Who is Mr. Brodie?" may be true, and, I believe, it is true, to the very letter ; the only thing to wonder at being, that BRODIE, with all the cunning that birth, parentage, breeding up, and experience must have given him, should have been *fool* enough to publish this his character to the world ! But it is not this fellow's character that is of any interest to any-body : the subject interesting is, the *conduct of the* BOUVERIES in this case ; and that is of no interest, as far as relates to its effect on the attempt and views of BRODIE, but as it illustrates their *sincerity* as to the *cause of reform*, and as it reads a most useful lesson to the country at large, and particularly to you, the people of Salisbury.

First, we see that WYNDHAM was a staunch and openly-avowed enemy of reform. Next, we see, that the BOUVERIES, in despite of this, *coalesced with him in order to keep out a man who, be he what he might, pledged himself to vote for the Bill*, and who thus used the last remains of their boroughmongering power in your city, in a manner calculated to perpetuate that power which they had expressed their eagerness to surrender ! Next, observe, that BRODIE's *conversion* has taken place since the death of old Lord RADNOR ; for then was the first time that he could have been called upon to vote for CAPTAIN BOUVERIE, and then he told the Captain that he would not vote for him, "unless he had *changed his sentiments as to Mr. Cobbett*." But how came this to be, by Wyndham especially,

brought as a *charge* against BRODIE ? Poor BRODIE, in the simplicity of his heart, cannot for the life and soul of him think why this story about his *hostility to Mr. Cobbett* was raked up ! "I cannot," says he, "understand what *connexion there is between Mr. Cobbett and the great measure of Parliamentary Reform* : I confess I can see *none*." Ah ! simple, single-hearted and sincere BRODIE, but the BOUVERIES and WYNDHAM could ! They could see a good deal of such connexion ; and they knew that the people of Salisbury could see it too. They knew that the whole nation knew that the Reform was *my work much more than that of the Ministers* ; and, therefore, BRODIE, they knew, that to prove that you were *not sincere*, they had only to produce proof of your bitter and deadly *hostility to my politics* ; for as to my person, you could have none, neither of us ever having, as far as I know, seen the other, and, certainly, no communication of any sort having ever taken place between us. LORD RADNOR must remember, that the late LORD HENRY STUART told him, that when I was at Philadelphia, where he was too, and where I carried on single-handed such a fight for my country, I was his *criterion* whereby to judge of men's principles ; that he used to put to them the question, *How do you like Mr. Cobbett's writings ?* If they applauded, he set them down as *sincere friends of England* : if not, if he found them even *cold* in their commendations, he *set them down as enemies*. And simple BRODIE may be assured, that I am just as much a *criterion* in this case as I was in that ; and, he may be further assured, that the BOUVERIES know it too, however they may endeavour to disguise it even from themselves.

BRODIE, you never heard one of my *Lectures* ? That's a pity ! If you could have heard one of them, of which I gave above *one hundred and fifty in number*, one or more in every considerable town in *twenty-one of the counties of England*, during two journeys of about *three thousand miles*, and all between December 1829 and July 1830 ; if you could have heard one of

these, BRODIE, you could not wonder that the nation was roused, that all spoke as *one man*, and that we are now to have that Reform which (*next after the smock-frocks and nailed shoes*) the nation will owe to those Lectures more than to all other causes put together. But, better late than never, BRODIE. You shall hear one yet; for as soon as my corn is all up (and it is coming up beautifully), and safely out of the way of the cursed birds, I intend to take another sweep. I mean to take up my work where I was driven off in the fall; that is, to begin at Chichester (taking Horsham in my way down), then proceed to Havant, Portsea, Isle of Wight, Gosport, go to Botley and dine with the labourers, and laugh at Fleming; then to Southampton, Winchester, Romsey, and then to the rural city with the beautiful and lofty spire, raised by a sort of clergy who kept all the poor and repaired the churches *out of the tithes*, and under whose ministry of charity and peace the degrading name of *pauper* was unknown, and in whose happy times *Reverend* "Magistrates and Lieutenants" had never been heard of, or dreamed of. And now, BRODIE, if you will get me the use of the TOWN HALL, you shall have the honour to sit upon the bench during the Lecture; and, remember what I tell you: if you have a mind to beat the aristocrats out of Salisbury, and be a member for the city, this is the only way for you to effect your object. I shall give *due notice of my time of starting from London*. There will be this of novelty in the Lectures, that they will now be in favour of the Government, instead of being against it: they will now consist of advice and exhortations as to what we ought to do to give effect to the great measure of Reform, brought forward by the Ministers backed by the King and the people. I hope Mr. BENNETT will come and hear me too; and, *perhaps*, he may give me that farm at NORTON BOVANT that I have so long coveted. If he should, I can assure him that no labourer of mine shall ever live upon a pound and a quarter of bread and a halfpenny a day.

Now, my friends of Salisbury, begging your pardon for this digressive address to BRODIE, he might, if he had not been in a fluster, and had not suffered his mortification to get the better of his presence of mind, have paid the BOUVERIES off in their own coin, by putting to them this question: "Since *Cobbett and Reform* are synonymous, how comes it that he is not now one of the members for Downton?" That would have been a staggerer; and BRODIE, upon the blow, might have said, "Gentlemen, it is deemed a proof of my want of sincerity in the cause of Reform that I *formerly* censured a subscription to facilitate Mr. Cobbett's return to parliament; what, then, are we to think of the sincerity, in the cause of him, who then subscribed to get him returned, and who *now*, having the absolute power to do it, does not put him into parliament; but first fills the borough up with the partner of his banker-brother, and with another man, whom shame prevented from being a nominee of Lord Lonsdale, and who now has filled it up with a brother, and with a well-known former election associate of one of the Ministers of the day, and who, in the former case, sends his banker-brother to Cocker-mouth, to take, in the way of truck, a nomination from Lonsdale?"

Here BRODIE might have stopped, and here I might stop, and, indeed, I should not have said a word about Downton or Cocker-mouth, or about the conduct of the BOUVERIES, if they had not dragged me forward upon this occasion, and that, too, for the evident purpose of preventing the election of a man who would have voted *for the bill*, and of securing the return of a man who declared that he would vote *against it*. BRODIE acquits WYNDHAM of all blame in this respect; he bears full testimony to his honourable character and conduct; he imputes his error to the instrumentality of others, and from the last sentence in his speech, you clearly perceive whom he means by those others. At all these pretty works of the Broughams, the Bouveries, the Lonsdales, about Westmoreland and

Cockermouth, and *Downton*, I have always laughed, though they have not failed to fill thousands of sensible and zealous reformers with indignation, and have brought contempt to supply the place of the respect before entertained; but *now*, since the *BOUVERIES* have thought proper to drag me out, and especially for a purpose like that above-mentioned, I will do what hundreds of friends have pressed me to do before; namely, relate all the circumstances of this affair of *Downton*, as far as relates to me.

In the first place, Lord RADNOR never spoke to me, nor wrote to me, nor I to him, on the subject of *Downton*; and not even a *hint* on the subject was ever given by one to the other. So that he has committed no breach of promise towards me, either express or implied. I know, that many most worthy men, in several counties, applied to him, in the most earnest terms, to put me in for *Downton*, at the election of last year; but no such application was ever made to him at my suggestion, or with my consent, *nor even with my knowledge*. Several of the applicants have, since that time, informed me of what they did, and in some instances have showed me the answers they received. But I have never uttered to any one a word of reproach or of complaint on the subject; and have always endeavoured to abate their anger by apologizing for his refusal; and to the truth of this every man of them will bear witness, and they are not a few in number. In the first place, he, like the Duke of Newcastle, "had a right to do what he would *with his own*;" and then I have, upon all such occasions, desired my friends to consider how he was hampered with the Mildmays, and the Barings, and the Methuens, and the D'Acourts, and beset by parsons and placemen and pensioned and banker relations, ten or twenty deep, all of whom regard me precisely in the light that a rat regards a terrier; and I always have, long ago, whenever I was asked whether he would not put me into Parliament at a dissolution, said, that he would not, and that he *could not*; for that, to do it, would be to banish

himself from the whole of his family and the circle in which he lived, and amongst whom all his affections were distributed; and that, whatever right the *public* might have to call upon him to do this, I had no such right, nor had any other individual, nor group of individuals, such right.

Besides this, I had too grateful a recollection of his defence of me, when, in the hellish days, he was my defender against so many scores of open-mouthed villains, and also of his excellent conduct with regard to the dungeoned reformers in 1817 and in 1818, when, in the cause of truth and justice and humanity, he braved all the odium that the bands of corrupt ruffians could heap upon him; I had too grateful a recollection of these things (the latter of which ought never to be forgotten by the people) to suffer me to *wish* him to live in a sort of hell upon earth on account of putting me into Parliament, however great might be the good to the country that I expected from it.

This has always been my way of thinking and my *language* as to this affair; but when I saw the *accommodation* between him and Lord Lonsdale; when I saw the treachery between *Downton* and *Cockermouth*, and when I now see him absolutely creeping under the *kelt* of *Brougham*: foh! foh! There is no apology here. Had it been his brother, had it been his cousins or brothers-in-law, had been independent country gentlemen: but there is *Downton* with *Brougham's* brother and *Brougham's* old electioneering associate; and it is now again, in reality, at its last expiring gasp, a treasury borough, as it, in fact, had been for forty years, up to 1830. The conclusion is, then, that Lord Radnor has never broken any promise to me, express or implied; has never caused in me any disappointment; has never done any thing to offend me; but, having dragged me out and for the purpose aforementioned, it was due to myself and the public to state what I have now stated.

My friends of Salisbury, the lesson that all this teaches us is plain. It is clearly the intention of the aristocracy still to fill the parliament with their re-

lations and their creatures, and their expectation that they shall be able to do it; and they imagine, that this reform will give them the same power that they now have over our purses without the complaints on our part which they now incessantly hear, and by which their enjoyment of our earnings is somewhat disturbed. They will be grievously disappointed in this expectation, and if I were not sure of this, I should care very little about Reform. We shall have the *ballot* or we shall not: if we have it, good men will be chosen and chosen peaceably; if we have it not, good men will be chosen by "the people operating upon the prudence of the electors;" as Lord Grey said, Reform would be effected by "the people operating on the prudence of the House;" which has actually been the case now. The aristocracy will have *their rights*, and they will have *no more*; and I am sure they have no right to our earnings.

WINCHESTER has just exhibited a scene to match that of Salisbury. MILD-MAY, brother-in-law of Lord Radnor, and also in some way connected with the Barings by marriage, was the Reform candidate, and EAST the anti-reform candidate. A Baring, brother-in-law of Mildmay, a reformer, put up against East. East split votes *with Mildmay*, and was elected; but here the reformer Mildmay pushed the matter further in favour of East than the BOUVERIES did in favour of Wyndham; for the reformer Mildmay seeing his own election secure, and being himself a member of the Corporation, actually *gave his vote* for the anti-reformer East; and, when called to account for this, the report says, that he justified his conduct by alleging, that there was a *bargain* between the Buckingham family and that of Mildmay, that one should always return one of the members, and the other the other member! Aye, and he thinks, I dare say, that the bargain will hold good *after the reform* as well as now! How deceived this fellow will find himself! I take these facts from the newspapers; one would think that they could not have invented

it; and yet such an insolent avowal, such contempt of public opinion, is scarcely credible.

People of Salisbury, and of every other place, defeat, by your good sense, these arrogant and insolent pretensions and expectations; cease to be *lord-work-shippers*; away with the idea, that you are dependants on them; what is their *custom* to that of the farmers and the working people! And, besides, they must still deal with some of you. If you have not the public spirit to despise their custom, when set against your duty to your country, bear in mind, that *the thousands can withdraw their custom from you*, if you act contrary to *their interest*, and that this is what they will unquestionably and have a perfect right to do. I trust, however, that you will need no motive of action other than your duty; and then I am sure that you will choose men of sense and integrity from amongst yourselves, and not run after captains of the navy and men of great estate, who do not know which way they shall vote 'till they have asked Sir ROBERT PEEL. I am,

My friends,

Your faithful and obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

POSTSCRIPT.—For the same reasons that I have written the above letter, I add this postscript, the materials for which I have just received from an obliging friend at Salisbury; that is to say, I insert this postscript for the purpose of showing, in detail, the hypocrisy which has marked the conduct of the greater part of the parties at this election. The following table will speak for itself as far as relates to the voting; but the reader must observe the heading of the table, and observe the names which are distinguished by *italics*; for those names designate such of the members of the corporation as signed a petition in favour of the Reform Bill, which petition was presented to the House of Commons in March last.

List of the Corporation of Salisbury, distinguishing how each of the Members present voted at the recent Election for that city. Those Gentlemen whose names are in *italics* signed the petition for Reform presented to

the House of Commons, by the Hon. D. P.
Bouverie, on the 9th of March.

Names.	For Bouverie	For Wyndham	For Brodie	Absent
The Mayor .....	.	.	.	.
The Recorder .....	.	.	.	—
Deputy Recorder .....	.	—	.	.
W. Boucher.....	—	—	.	.
E. Stevens	—	—	.	.
J. Sutton	—	—	.	—
J. P. Tinney .....	.	.	.	—
W. B. Brodie	—	.	—	.
W. Andrews	—	.	.	.
C. G. Brodie	—	.	—	.
E. Davies	—	—	.	.
T. Goddard .....	.	.	.	—
P. L. Burnet	—	—	.	.
H. Wyche .....	.	—	.	.
C. R. Collins .....	.	.	.	—
W. Woolfryes	—	.	.	.
H. Emly.....	—	—	.	.
T. W. Dyke.....	—	—	.	.
T. Atkinson	—	.	—	.
G. Atkinson	—	.	.	.
J. Sparshatt	—	.	—	.
G. Loder	—	—	.	.
G. Pain	—	.	.	.
J. Bennett	—	.	—	.
J. Cobb.....	.	—	.	.
G. Brown.....	.	.	.	—
J. Easton.....	.	—	.	.
R. Fowler.....	—	.	.	.
A. Minty	—	—	.	.
W. B. Blackmore.....	—	—	.	.
M. Targett	—	.	.	.
G. Wyndham .....	.	—	.	.
S. Fisher .....	.	.	.	—
J. Blatch .....	.	.	.	—
W. Ellis	—	—	.	.
G. F. Cooper .....	.	.	.	—
T. Brown .....	.	.	.	—
J. Hussey .....	.	—	.	.
C. W. Everett.....	.	—	.	.
H. Shorto	—	.	—	.
J. Grove	—	.	.	.
W. Goddard.....	—	.	.	.
T. N. Chubb	—	—	.	.
G. Sutton .....	.	—	.	.
H. Everett.....	.	—	.	.
J. D. P. Loder.....	—	—	.	.
W. H. Coates	—	—	.	.
T. Goddard, jun.....	.	.	.	.
R. Mackrell.....	—	—	.	.
G. Brown, jun.....	.	.	.	—
J. B. H. Tanner .....	.	.	.	—
T. O. Stevens	—	—	.	.
W. Blackmore	—	—	.	.
S. Foot.....	.	—	.	.
G. Sampson.....	.	.	.	—
	31	27	7	12

If, in all the Methodist conferences which shall take place in England this year, or which ever have taken place; if, in all the *conciliabules* at the Thatched House and the Cocoa Tree; if, in all the puffery carried on by Scotchmen who meet to cheat in the dark, and they are equal, in this respect, to any-thing above ground; but if in hell itself greater hypocrisy was ever hatched and played off than has now been played off in this English city, and in the midst of a surrounding country in which God has poured out the abundant rewards of sincerity and of all the virtues, then I challenge the Methodist teachers, the place-hunting Whigs, the booing and puffing Scotch, and the devil himself, to come and put forward respectively, and in due form, their claim to the prize, which is awarded them by the just indignation and contempt of every-thing honest and sincere upon the face of the earth. FIRST, with regard to the corporation; in a mass they, in the month of March, petitioned for the Reform Bill, and in the month of May they choose a man who frankly and honestly tells them that he will *oppose that bill!* SECOND: we find eight of them who petitioned for the Reform Bill in the month of March; that is to say, who *signed* the Reform Bill petition, and who now come and *vote against that bill* in voting for Mr. WYNDHAM! THIRD: we find that *twenty-seven* of them signed the petition for the Reform Bill; and there is found, out of the whole corporation, but *seven* to vote for Mr. BRODIE, who pledges himself to vote for the bill; and of those seven, two are *himself* and Mr. C. G. Brodie, who, I suppose, is his son; so that, in fact, there are but *five*, though seven-and-twenty signed the petition for the Reform Bill. Twelve were absent, the Recorder, Lord RADNOR, being one, and the Mayor did not vote at all, though he was present. The Mayor, however, signed the petition for the Reform Bill. Of those who were absent we will form no judgment; but of the rest this corporation contains, according to all the rules of arithmetic,

only *five sincere men*; it being natural to suppose that the two **BRODIES** were influenced by interest or ambition; admitting them, however, to have been sincere, then the number is *seven*! But the most interesting part of the transaction is the **SPLITTING OF VOTES** between Bouverie and Wyndham. This is the thing to rivet our attention, and to show the real wishes and disposition of many of those of the aristocracy who are now putting themselves forward as the friends of reform. It was natural enough for Mr. Wyndham to split votes with Mr. Bouverie, who had been his colleague before, and to whom he had no objection, either particular or general; but how came Mr. Bouverie to split votes with him; and that, too, to keep out a man to whose moral character there was no objection whatever, who was merely, like himself, a convert to the cause: what could induce Bouverie to split votes with Wyndham, in order to keep out Brodie, who was pledged to vote for the Bill? Why, I will say what it was: it was the nasty, stupid, aristocratical pride that could not bear to see this stationer walk into the House of Commons in the place of what is called a "*a man of family*." I know nothing in particular in favour of Brodie. All that I know of him, indeed, is, from what has now come out; that is, that he had a groundless, a most unjust prejudice against me, and spoke of me quite unprovokedly, in the most insolent manner; nay, further, that he did all that was within his little power to do me injury. But Brodie may be a very fit man to be a Member of Parliament, for any-thing that I know to the contrary. He may possess as much wisdom and talent as either of the men that have been chosen; and were I a citizen of Salisbury, I should resent, and deeply resent too, the splitting of votes with the adversary of the cause, when Brodie stood ready pledged to be the advocate of that cause. This transaction clearly shows that the design is still to make the city of Salisbury a mere tool in the hands of these great families. The Bouveries did not know, at the time when the Salisbury election

took place, that the majority of the new Parliament would be so great as it will be; they did not know that the people would make such wonderful exertions as they have made: from what they had seen, during their lives, they could not have anticipated such a prodigious change in the attitude and conduct of the people: they could not have dreamed of the tossing out of **KNATCHBULL**, **FLEMING**, **BANKES**, **ACLAND**, **VYVYAN**, **LYGON**; and, in short, the tossing of them all out all over the country, except in three or four instances: they could not have dreamed of the tossing out of **GASCOYNE** and of **SADLER**, and of **DUNCOMBE**'s running out of Yorkshire like a scalded cat. In short, though they might have anticipated a majority in the House of Commons, they never could have anticipated that which we shall have to behold. They knew the importance of that majority; they knew the weight that it must have in the House of Lords; they knew, too, the weight that the city of Salisbury would have in explaining the wishes of one of the greatest counties in the kingdom. There had been no division *in the county*: to the city of Salisbury, therefore, we naturally looked with a great deal of interest: The petition from the corporation of that city had done a great deal: it had been cited as a striking proof of the feeling in favour of reform in Wiltshire. There was, therefore every good motive for Mr. Bouverie to take Mr. Brodie by the hand, and make common cause with him; there was every motive by which a man ought to have been actuated in such a case; and, casting all these motives aside, he makes common cause with his adversary, and brings to the Parliament the decision of the city of Salisbury, in fact, *against* reform; because, as to his own seat, that he would have had, as a matter of course: the trial was between Wyndham and Brodie, and he takes the part of Wyndham. As I said before, the Bouveries could not have anticipated that which has taken place in the country: for aught they knew to the contrary, the ultimate decision might have depended upon one

single vote; and that one vote they subtract from the cause of reform.

Nor can I forbear observing upon these twelve absentees. It is possible that they might all be kept away by some imperious cause; but twelve, of fifty-five, are a great many to be under the influence of such a cause at one and the same time. Every one to his taste; but, if I had been the *Recorder*, I would have been present and given my vote for Brodie. I should, indeed, have voted for my brother, too; but why not vote for my brother? In short, being sincere in the cause of Reform, and, of course, anxious for its success, and being a member of the corporation, and having the greatest weight of any man in it, I should have come and proved my sincerity to the people of Salisbury, and proved myself worthy of the confidence that they had reposed in me, and of the honour which they had conferred on me, by throwing the whole of that weight into the cause of Reform. The result of all this is, as affects you, the people of Salisbury, that, with all your zeal in the cause of Reform, in which, probably, and, indeed, apparently, from every-thing that I hear, you yield to no city or town in the kingdom, you are exhibited to the rest of the country as a set of senseless creatures, that know not what you are doing, or as a set of tame and corrupt wretches that are still willing to be the slaves of the oligarchy; and you give the people of England, Ireland, and Scotland, a right to say, "If we have reform, we are not indebted for it to the city of Salisbury." I can have no liking for Mr. Brodie, and particularly cannot envy him his present situation; but I must say, that I would rather be in his place than in the place of those by whose intrigues he has been defeated.

IRELAND!

THE very sound of the word ought to make *Englishmen blush!* Ought to make them blush to the bone, to think of the power of their country, whose tradi-

tionary boast is, that it was the cradle of liberty, and has been the defender of the feeble and avenger of the oppressed. For my own part, I should be ashamed to be alive if I had neglected any-thing within my power to prevent the people of Ireland being treated in the manner in which they have been, and as they *still are* treated. Under heaven there is no species of punishment; on this side the infernal regions, nor even in those regions themselves, is there punishment adequate to the crime of wishing the people of Ireland to be kept in the state in which they now are. But before I proceed further, let me insert, from the *Morning Chronicle* of the other day, an account of a meeting of a parcel of Lords and other people, in London, on the subject of the starvation in Ireland. I shall not copy the report of the nasty, beastly, canting speeches made upon this occasion, but shall insert the part which gives a description of the state of the people; and when I have done that, I shall, for almost the five hundredth time, make some remarks on the cruel, the ferocious treatment of this people.

FAMINE IN IRELAND.

Meeting to afford Relief to the famishing Peasantry.

A meeting was held yesterday, in Exeter Hall, according to the advertisements, to raise funds, and provide for their application, to relieve the famine now raging in several districts in Ireland. The meeting was numerously attended. Amongst those present were Viscount Lifford, the Marquess of Clanricarde, Lord James O'Brien, Lord Manners, Lord Barham, Lord Ashtown, Lord Calthorpe, Hon. and Rev. C. G. Noel, Right Hon. Stratford Canning, General Ashe, Sir R. O'Donnel, Henry Drummond, Esq., J. E. Gordon, Esq., M. P., Sir John Burke, Bart., M. P., and Eneas Mac Donnell, Esq.

The Chair was taken shortly after one o'clock, by Lord Lorton.

The CHAIRMAN said, that it was not necessary to occupy the time of the meeting by enlarging on the object which they were assembled to promote. He should, therefore, merely observe, that that object was the relief of some of the most destitute, perhaps the *most destitute, people in the world.* (Hear, hear, hear.) In many parts of Ireland the people were in extreme misery, from which

they could not be relieved *without the assistance of those to whom a wise Providence had given the means*. Whatever had been done hitherto, or might now be done, must be considered as only a temporary relief. He trusted that, in the next Session of Parliament, the legislature would pass a law to *provide the means of employment and subsistence to every man willing to work*. (Applause.) If that were not done, there must inevitably be a recurrence to the distress every year. (Hear, hear.) He would, therefore, call upon every Peer and Commoner, who desired to prevent that recurrence, to exert his utmost efforts to obtain, in the next Session, *a permanent provision for the Irish poor*. He then read a letter which he had received from Sir John Conroy, enclosing a *third donation of 50l. from her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent*, and informing the committee that her Royal Highness and the Princess Victoria were at present employed in making and arranging *articles to be sold at the Bazaar*, in aid of the funds of the Relief Committee. (*Much applause*.) He also read a letter from a noble Duke, enclosing one hundred pounds (applause), and expressing his Grace's regret that he was unable to attend the Meeting. A letter had also been received from the Earl of Shrewsbury, regretting his inability to be present, and explaining that he had recently sent one hundred pounds, for the relief of the distressed districts in Ireland; and that not having any property in that country, he could not now afford a second subscription.

Mr. J. S. REYNOLDS, Secretary to the Committee, read an address, which exhibited the existence of a wide-spread, and calamitous destitution in several districts in Ireland, and established the necessity of prompt and immediate measures of relief by numerous extracts from respectable correspondents, which furnished a body of evidence most painful and conclusive. The first extract was from a letter of the Archbishop of Tuam:—

"Extraordinary distress, from the failure of the last potatoe crop, exists at this moment all along the coast of Cunnemara and Mayo, and the islands opposite to those coasts in Ennis, and so on to the county of Donegal; at all times much distress prevails throughout this province of Connaught for the want of employment, but I think that the very great and extraordinary distress is in most parts, if not altogether, confined to the districts which I have now mentioned."

The next is an extract from the letter of J. Dombraun, Esq., Inspector-General of the Coast Blockade for Ireland:—

"I have just returned from a visit to the coast of Donegal, under the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant, to ascertain the state of the poor in those remote parts, and it is with feelings of deep pain and regret I communicate to you a catalogue of miseries, almost unexampled even in this country."

"The first in order, and primary cause of

all the rest, was an almost complete failure of the potatoe crop; this was owing to incessant heavy rains, and a succession of violent gales of wind, which commenced about the first of August, and continued till November. Oats, from the same cause, were not more than half a crop. Hay, the season for cutting which in the mountains does not commence till October, not half a crop; and the turf almost entirely destroyed: the consequences are, that at this moment there are hundreds of human beings nearly dying from starvation; many are living on sea-weed, and such shell-fish as they can procure; and should warm weather set in, I have little doubt but that fever will follow, and carry off thousands.

"The snow remained an unusually long time on the ground, the fodder was soon exhausted, and the cattle are now dying by hundreds; one person, I know, lost the week before last twenty-five head of black cattle: you may readily imagine that I feel convinced of this awful visitation, when I tell you that I have sent 200l. worth of potatoes to be retailed out at a price which will leave me a considerable loser."

A further testimony was found in a letter of the Rev. James Crawford, of Maghera Glebe. This letter proves that even the cattle are dying for want of sustenance:—

"There certainly exists at present very great distress amongst the numerous poor people of this extensive parish, which would be increased to an alarming height during the ensuing summer months, should no relief be afforded; but many thanks to you and our English friends for your timely and liberal donation, which, together with what we expect from others, will, it is hoped, in a great measure, relieve the calamities with which we are threatened. The great failure of the potatoe crop by blight for two successive years, and want of employment for the superabundant population, have been the proximate causes of the present distress. There has been also a great loss of cattle and sheep; there is, in consequence, no marketable article that would afford the people means of purchasing provisions at the present exorbitant prices. I beg to mention one instance, which will prove to demonstration the great want of food. Two of my friends, extensive graziers, have during the past month lost, one, thirty-seven head of cattle; the other, seventeen; and they died of disease; and in wretched poverty the country people used the flesh for food."

In corroboration of these proofs of the existence of the most melancholy suffering, the following communication was added from a gentleman at Sligo:—

"When I recollect that to-morrow is only the 1st of April, I look forward with horror to the state of this country in two or three months, judging from what I witnessed yesterday. The beach between Inniscrone and Pulocherry was quite covered with women, picking the common black sea-weed off the

rocks, which, I am told, they carry home to the mountains and boil for food, to eke out their few remaining potatoes. What is to become of them in June or July I know not. I think, when the tide was out, there could not have been less than three thousand persons employed as I have stated."

Another letter says:—"The distress all around is rapidly increasing. The appearance of the people speaks loudly as to their internal sufferings, although they do not utter a single word. The famine is very general over the kingdom. I could tell you tales of suffering which would harrow up your soul; but, suffice it to say, the Noonan family that you found so ill in the cellar in St. Giles's, were in comparative comfort to many here. They are lying all swelled from hunger as if ill of dropsy, with their children all crying for hunger around them. Description and imagination fall far short of the dreadful reality."

Was there ever a sight like this before to offend the sight of a just God and of the just part of mankind! While these people were, by thousands, prowling along the sea-beach, to pick up the stinking muscles, for, observe, none but the dead ones or the dying ones will remain on the beach after the tide is gone out; while these poor creatures were thus employed, and were climbing about upon the rocks to get sea-weed to carry home to eat: while they were thus employed, in order to save life, there were the ships in the harbour, within sight of them, taking in loads of bacon, pork, beef, butter, and corn, to be carried and sold in other lands, so that the money might be given to the landowners of Ireland, to spend in those other lands. How can this Government hold its head up; how can it look the world in the face, while a state of things like this is proclaimed to that world!

The DUCHESS OF KENT and the PRINCESS VICTORIA are setting up a Bazaar, we are told, to raise money for the relief of the Irish. To remark upon such stuff as this I have not patience. There wants the interference of the Government, to compel the landowners of Ireland to relieve the poor in the same manner that they are relieved in England and America, only, with regard to the latter, with the absence of the bills of STURGES BOURNE. Mark well, that the Irish Members are, for the far

greater part, bitterly hostile to the poor-laws. To be sure they are. I remember that that poor insignificant thing, Sir JOHN NEWPORT, declaimed against introducing the English poor-laws into Ireland. He, brave man, wished the "peasant" to live in a "state of independence"! That is to say, he wished him to live as he could, without anything from him; to live along with the pigs, only rather worse; to live with the lean pigs, not the fat ones. At other times you hear the hard-hearted insolent Irish Squirearchy asserting that the people of that country do not like meat and bread, and that they like to lie upon straw and filth, and like to be clad in rags, or go naked. Monsters! there is punishment in store for them!

The duty of the English Government is; the duty of the Government of the Kingdom is, to cause the Irish people to receive just and due remuneration for their labours; to cause them to have it in their power to eat meat and bread, and to be well clothed; and it is the duty, the bounden, the sacred duty of the people of England to compel their Government, by all lawful and constitutional means, to cause this to be done for Ireland. And what are the means? Is there any difficulty in finding them? The thing is done in ten days, and, in an Act of Parliament which I will give here directly, lest the law-officers should be too busy to find time to draw it up.

"Whereas the people of Ireland
 "form part of his Majesty's European subjects, and are therefore
 "fully entitled to all the benefits
 "of the laws of England; and
 "whereas they are now, and for
 "ages have been, enduring great
 "hardships in consequence of the
 "poor-laws not having been established in Ireland, as they were
 "in England, to supply the place
 "of the beneficent institutions
 "co-existent with the Catholic
 "Church; and whereas, without
 "the application of the English
 "law in this respect to Ireland,
 "the cruel treatment and the half-barbarism of the people must

"still continue, the peace of the whole kingdom be thereby incessantly disturbed, its resources diminished, and its powers weakened; be it therefore enacted, that, from and after the 25th day of September next, the Act of the 43d year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, entitled an Act for the relief of the poor, shall be in full and entire force in every part of that part of the kingdom called Ireland."

That's all! That is every-thing that is necessary. We should then hear of no more famines; no more eatings of sea-weed; no more midnight murders and seizures of arms, and transportings without judge or jury. "The landowners would not execute the law," some people say. If they would not, I would find somebody that should. I would send a dozen Magistrates from England into every county of Ireland; pay them a salary for performing the duty; and their duty should be, each for a certain number of parishes, to be ready to hear complaints, and make orders for relief; and if their orders were not obeyed, the Act would give them authority to cause seizures to be made upon those who should disobey them; and thus the Squirearchy would soon cease to be absentees, I believe; they would soon hasten home; for they would find very little sent to them out of the country. The thing is not to be done by leaving the execution to the Irish parsons and Squirearchy: it is to be done by the sending over of men as magistrates, such as the police magistrates of London. They would need no soldiers; no police; the people they would have at their back; the millions would be with them; and the intolerable infamy of the present horrible state of things would be put an end to. This is what I would do, if I were Minister: I cannot conceive the possibility of a failure; but if this failed, I would withdraw every soldier from Ireland, and let the Squirearchy and the parsons keep the peace of the country as they could; take care of themselves as they could. A scramble

would certainly take place; a new distribution of property would be the inevitable consequence; but even that would be preferable to the state of things which now exists. However, there could be no danger of a failure: upright magistrates, supported by the Government and the people too, would speedily put the thing to rights. At this meeting there was one gentleman, it appears, though his name is not given, who said, "This seems only to be a manœuvre to raise money to pay the 'landlords' rents and the clergymen's tithes." The goodly company silenced him very quickly. Yes: this was in reality the business of the meeting. Part of the rents and tithes ought to be kept in Ireland, to be sure, for the relief of the people; and though this money when raised is not to be put into the hands of the parson and the landowner, it is raised for the purpose of being given to the poor, to keep them quiet, while the landlords and parsons bring away from the country the means of paying them the rents and the tithes. Ireland has endured beyond further endurance. The working people there have suffered themselves to be brought down to live upon potatoes at the best, till, at last, their cruel oppressors are driving them from the potatoes to the stinking muscles and the sea-weed.

The labourers of England were brought down nearly to potatoes, especially in the counties which the Kentish people call "*the shires*." They were got down to potatoes in Wiltshire, and the curse was creeping on Eastward, till a straggling fibre of it here-and-there found its way even into Kent. There the people would not stand it, there they proclaimed that they would not *live upon potatoes*! This was their resolve and their signal, and away went the sound from one end of England to the other. As the Barons in the reign of King John took for their motto, "We will not change the laws of England," so the men of Kent took for their motto the not less wise motto, "We will not live upon potatoes." If they had submitted to live upon potatoes, they would very soon have been driven to

live upon sea-weed or stinking muscles. We see that the Irish are too happy, as the French call it, if they can get a paunch-full of that accursed root. Thus goes on oppression always if it remain without check. However, men do not suffer for ever: they break out at last. There has been no want of spirit in the Irish; they have often enough endeavoured to rescue themselves from their state of horrible degradation; and if Ireland had been a country not dependent upon any other, it would never have been brought into its present state; but there always has been this great country to overlay it with; and the people of this country have been constantly deceived with regard to that country: the infernal policy of making the two people hate one another, has been pursued for so many years, that it is hard to make an Englishman believe that any-thing is tyranny, that any-thing is oppression, that any-thing is wrong which is done for the purpose of inflicting injury upon Ireland, and this has been particularly the case since the Union of 1800.

Never shall I forget when the proposition was made for an interchange of the militias. An Act of Parliament was passed to authorize the bringing of *Irish militia regiments to serve in England*, and the sending of *English militia regiments to serve in Ireland*. How the sweet House chuckled! How those who did not laugh out, sniggered, when they heard the mild and gentle CASTLEREAGH state, as a reason for this, that it would introduce the two people to each other; make them more friendly; promote good fellowship and brotherhood among them! Only think of sending a parcel of Englishmen, with bayonets upon the top of muskets, to scrape acquaintance with the Irish, and bringing a parcel of Irishmen here, furnished in the same way, to scrape friendly acquaintance with the English! However, CASTLEREAGH cut his own throat afterwards, at North Cray, in Kent; so that he did not live to see all the happy results of his benevolent scheme.

I have spoken with great and de-

served contempt of the speeches made at this meeting. There was a fellow by the name of BEAMISH, who has *Reverend* put before his name, who ascribed the distress in Ireland to a want of the Protestant religion. There was a Captain B. HARCOURT, who said that "*Scriptural knowledge alone would be the only cure.*" There was an Honourable and Reverend GERARD NOEL, who looked upon *popery as one of the causes of the distress*. There was a Reverend Mr. ARMSTRONG, who said that the way to cure the evil was to propagate the Gospel in Ireland, and who regarded the Catholic religion as the great curse of the country, and cause of the distress. Then came Mr. HENRY DRUMMOND; and with regard to his speech, I must make a most honourable exception. I have only to insert it. The reader will pronounce upon its character:—"It was far from him to deny the wrongs which Ireland had suffered from England; it was far from him to deny the injustice of the church of Ireland, which received the money of the people without being able so much as to instruct them in their own language. (Hear, hear.) It was also far from him to offer any apology for the errors of popery. But when the Rev. Gentleman spoke of moral influence, surely he must know that they could not enact laws to enforce moral influence; and what they had that day to think of was a remedy for a tangible and pressing evil. (Applause.) But it might easily be shown, that let every one subscribe his thousands, the evil would still be a recurrent one: and it was, therefore, the duty of the Government to take care of the poorer part of the population, the rich being able to take care of themselves. He meant to say that it was the imperative duty of the Government to enact poor-laws in Ireland; and it was the duty of those who supplicated the Castle at Dublin for arms to protect them, to supplicate also for a law by which every one who was willing to work should have work found for him, so that he might be able to live. It was

"lamentable to hear of provisions being exported from Ireland, when the people there were starving; but this arose from their being sent out of the country to raise revenues for the absentee landlords who spend their produce here."

Now, who is to expect any good from Irishmen; from Irish landowners, as far as relates to the wretched people of Ireland? Here is an English gentleman who has the proper feeling upon the subject. Let me hope that the present Ministry will at once give notice of their intention, at any rate, to introduce the poor-laws into Ireland, and to enforce them for a time, at least, by English magistrates paid for their services. If the Ministry do not propose a measure of this sort, such a measure must be proposed, and will be proposed and carried, by a reformed Parliament. It is impossible that the thing can go on as it does now. Poor-laws for Ireland is one of the *pledges* to be insisted upon from Members of a reformed Parliament. For the want of those poor-laws Ireland is a source of weakness instead of strength to England; a constant drain upon her resources; a constant seat of danger to the whole kingdom, besides the monstrous inhumanity of suffering any part of the kingdom to be in such a state of oppression and misery. Every day it is natural to expect some terrible convulsion in some part or other of that Island; and, which I deem no small part of the evil, the wretched state in which the working people have been brought down to there, serves as an encouragement for grinding tyrants to attempt the same here. The people here have showed them, indeed, that these attempts shall never be attended with success; but while the encouragement exists, the attempts may be made, and all the troubles, and all the other dismal consequences, will follow.

"SURPLUS POPULATION."

THE doctors of the NASTY school are stung to the very quick by the adventures of their great master, SQUIRE

THIMBLE, recorded in the *Comedy* published in last week's *Register*, and also in *Twopenny-Trash* for June, which closes the first volume of that work, embracing the period from July, 1830, to June, 1831, and now bound up, with Title and Table of Contents, and sold for 2s. 6d. Yes: the *nasty feelosofers* are stung to the quick by this mode of exposing their impudence, stupidity, and beastliness; and one of them has, under the *sham name* of "EDWARD LUDLOW," discovered the rage of the *nasty crew* by sending me the following letter, which he says I shall "take good care not to publish;" but which I do publish, not because I am dared to do it, but because it will give my readers a good specimen of the "*elementary*" principles, as this nasty beast calls them, of their "*beautiful science*." I beg my readers to peruse it with attention; for here they will find the *grand argument* of the *nasty feelosofers*.

London, May 30, 1831.

SIR,—It is usual for a writer who addresses the editor of a public paper to deprecate the severity of his censure, if not to conciliate his favour, by some expressions of respect. I, Sir, will not deign to falsify my opinion, whether it is right or wrong, by the affectation of a respect for you, which I assuredly do not in the slightest degree entertain. I will, on the contrary, be candid enough to confess, that for your understanding, as far as I can judge of it by such of your writings as I have happened to see, I feel only a profound contempt. Every opinion I have ever seen of yours, on the subjects which you seem most satisfied that you thoroughly know, appears to me impressed with nothing but the grossest ignorance. I say nothing, at present, of your monstrous folly on the subjects of currency, taxation, commerce, the state of England before and since the Protestant Reformation, I will confine myself to a matter on which you evidently fancy yourself a great doctor, and on which you are manifestly as stupid and as ignorant as Mr. Sadler and his Quarterly Reviewer; and ignorance and stupidity greater than theirs it is impossible for any animal gifted with the faculty of speech to exhibit. I couple stupidity with ignorance in your case, although I fully admit that they are by no means necessarily conjoined: a man may be profoundly ignorant, and at the same time much less stupid than another man of some information: as, for example, a man may fancy that before the Reformation there was no Christian Church, except that of Rome: that only shows that he is grossly

and laughably ignorant enough not to know that the Greek Church has subsisted from the days of the Apostles, by whom it was founded, until the present hour; that the Greek Church, of which the greatest empire in the world is a member, has ever been in violent opposition to the Latin Church, and that it is only by translation from the language of the former that the latter knows any-thing of the Christian Scriptures. A man, I say, may be so monstrously ignorant as not to know those very simple and notorious facts, and yet not be grossly stupid; but I do hold it to be quite impossible that any man, not utterly and incurably stupid, could have been for many years writing, as you have been, on the subject of population, without ever attaining a knowledge of the very first and simplest rudiments of the science. To show blunders in complex numerical computations to a man ignorant of the first rules of arithmetic, would be a sort of folly which I will not commit on the present occasion. I will, therefore, confine myself to a few elementary questions, the obvious and true answers to which are in direct repugnance to your ludicrous opinions.

1. Stock a farm of 1000 acres, of the richest pasture land, with one breeding pair of the ox, horse, and sheep tribes of animals; leave them to multiply, in obedience to the unrestrained instincts of nature, and will they not multiply until the said pasture is unable to maintain the augmented numbers otherwise than in a state of the most severe privation under which animal life can possibly exist?

2. Would not the same result inevitably occur if the whole island of Great Britain were of the richest pasture, and similarly stocked?

3. To keep down the mouths on his pasture to a level with its capacity to feed them, does not the grazier have recourse to various violent means: such as slaughtering the animals of all ages, removing them away from his land, incapacitating them from breeding, by separating the sexes, and by other means? And if he were not so to do, would not his farm inevitably in time be overstocked?

4. Is not the multiplication of all classes of animal nature, biped and quadruped, or man and beast, governed by the very same laws or principles?

5. If the aforesaid violent means of physical prevention, applied, as aforesaid, to the multiplication of *four-legged creatures*, cannot be applied to that of *two-legged creatures*, will not the latter inevitably overstock the country, unless their excessive multiplication be prevented by some *moral restraint* thereon?

When you show that you clearly understand the preceding very simple questions, and the proper answers to them, I may probably propound some others which may lead to the elements of the momentous, complex, and *beautiful science*, that treats of the multiplication of the human species, viewed with

reference to its highest attainable state of well-being.

You are at liberty to publish this letter, but I guess you will take good care to do no such thing.

EDWARD LUDLOW.

Now, *nasty feelosofer*, I answer the *four first* questions with a YES; but the *fifth* I answer with a NO. Here we have, then, the *grand argument* of the shallow and nasty beasts! Here we have the *basis* of their "momentous, complex, and *beautiful science*." The nasty creatures know, that nobody can deny the truth of their observations, as they apply to *stock, kept upon a farm*; and not being able to *discriminate* between that case and the case of a *nation*, they think that their conclusion is unanswerable, and they rush on to it with all the eagerness and glee of a conceited fool who imagines that he has discovered some hitherto-hidden idea that he is bringing forth.

If the mind of this fellow were not as stupid as it is nasty, he would have perceived that there is *no analogy* in the two cases; that a *nation*, or *people*, have to *provide for their own wants*, have to *create* by their own skill, care, and toil, that which they eat, drink, wear, and are warmed and lodged with; whereas the *stock upon a farm* have their *wants provided for by others*; they *create nothing*; they use no skill, no care; they labour not at all; but have every-thing provided for them by the skill and labour of man and the labour of those other animals that man calls in to his assistance.

It is curious to observe how this nasty-minded fellow, resting upon the propensities and tendencies of nature, flies off, at once, for an illustration, into a state *wholly artificial*, and talks of the multiplication of animals in *this state*, instead of animals in a *state of nature*, where they have to *provide for their own wants*, and to seek for the means of their *own defence and preservation*. What! nasty, impudent, and stupid beast, you want to show us how fast animals would increase, if left to "the *unrestrained instincts of nature*," and as a *proof of it*, you cite what would be

the increase of a flock, guarded during the day by the shepherd and his dog, folded at night, and pampered upon grass, clover, and turnips, created for them and almost put into their mouths, by the labour of men and horses! You are a pretty beast to reason upon analogy! You are a pretty beast to show us what would be the effect of leaving animals to the "unrestrained instincts of nature!"

To make your argument of analogy worth a straw, you ought to have gone for an illustration, not to flocks and herds, tended and fed and nursed and physicked by the hand of man, but to those untamed animals which acknowledge no owner, and which provide for their own wants and their own protection. Of these the sparrow, the rook, the rabbit, the hare, the pheasant, the wood-pigeon, the partridge, and some others, are, in part, provided for by man; yet it is not without great difficulty that some of them can be made to increase. But, the foxes, the badgers, the otters, the weazles, the stoats, the pole-cats; why do they not overrun the country? They are *killed* by man and other animals; aye, now-and-then one, but not in so great a proportion as men are killed in various strifes, and by accidents arising out of their state in civil society. And why do not these animals (all great breeders) cover the land, then? They are left to the "unrestrained instincts of nature;" aye, but they are also left to *get their own living*; to work for what they eat. *Mice* and *rats*, indeed, absolutely demand cats and traps to "*check the population*" of them; and, *why*? Because the food on which they live is *provided for them* by the hand of man. Take that artificial provision away, and there will be no need of rats and traps to keep them down. And, *magpies*, now; why do not they fill the woods and devour us? Who ever kills a magpie? The most artful of birds, the most vigilant, so nearly a match for the hawk, that the latter never attacks him. Seldom is his nest molested; and yet, this is rather a rare bird. And why? because he is compelled to pass his

time in watchings and in labour. *Feed* the magpies, and take care of them, and they will be as plentiful and as insolent as pensioners, and you must soon begin to eat them (sweet morsels!), or to kill them at least, or they will fill the air with their chattering. I found, at Barn-Elm, a dove-house with about *fifty-pair* of pigeons. I let them *get their own living*: in the *three years* they did not give us *fifty* young ones, and their population fell off, at last, to about *fifteen pair*. I had a little pigeon-house at Kensington, set out with four pair, that soon began to take enough young ones for a *pigeon-pie once a week*; and yet, in about two years, they increased to such numbers, that I was compelled to slaughter the whole by shooting, and to begin again. But here they were fed three times a day abundantly, and whenever they went from home it was for diversion, and not to seek food. Here was "surplus population;" and here was the cause. These lazy devils at Kensington got all the food and none of the work; and therefore I was compelled to "check their population," and finally, to destroy them.

The blackbirds and thrushes sometimes rob man a little, but the tom-tits, goldfinches, nightingales, swallows, martens, hedge-sparrows, and peckers, and numerous other birds, live wholly on worms and buds and insects and seeds of weeds. There is never any overstock of them, though nobody kills them; but there would be an overstock of all of them, if man were to feed them, and to provide them with nests and protection, and were never to destroy any of them. My little farm-yard, at Kensington, contains, at present, two cows, a bull-calf, two old sows, five male pigs and seven females, all these about three months old, two cocks, ten hens, and about seventeen pigeons. Here, if I were to let them all remain in their natural state, to pursue the "unrestrained instincts of nature," and to go on calving, pigging and hatching, there would be a goodly assemblage in a short time: there would be "*surplus population*" indeed! But,

then, I must continue to *feed them all*: I must continue to draw from my *garden* subsistence for them, *from the fruit of my care and the labour of my men* in the raising of the cabbages, turnips, mangel-wurzel and corn, on which they all live. Upon this, and this alone, I ground my right to "*check* their population," by killing the calf as soon as he is fit, by taking the milk from the cows, by *altering* (as the Yankees call it) and, afterwards, killing the pigs, by taking the eggs from the hens, and by taking the young pigeons from their nests and putting them into pies. If I were to leave them to provide for themselves, their population would need no checking; and if they were so situated as to be able to *get their own living*, they would hardly *breed too much*, because their numbers could increase only in proportion to the subsistence that they obtained, and that, too, *without injury to others*; for, if they committed such injury, they would be destroyed in proportion to the amount of that injury; and this destroying would keep their numbers within due bounds.

It is exactly the same with human beings, who, *if they labour*, never CAN breed too fast, because *they create* food and clothing and other necessities *in proportion to their numbers*, and because, indeed, the subsistence *must precede* the population. But if there be a government to step in, and wrest the subsistence from those by whose labour it is created, and hand it over to others who, like my farm-stock, create nothing, then the poor souls that do the work must suffer from want. This is the situation of England at this moment; and here is the real foundation and motive of all that we hear about "*surplus population*." Those who labour, those who create all the food and all the raiment, seem, at last, resolved not to live any longer in a state of half starvation; and, therefore, those who live in idleness on the fruit of their labour, are using all sorts of endeavours to make us believe that the working people are *too numerous*, and these devourers are worrying the Go-

vernment to death to adopt some scheme for thinning their numbers, not caring a straw about what the *country* must thereby lose in point of resources and strength. These idlers are, in one respect, not like my farm-stock; for they *yield nothing in return* for what they devour. They are like the nags and pleasure-fillies, who, finding the clover run short, petitioned the master to sell off, or kill, some of the cart-horses, of whom they alleged that the population was "*surplus*." "Oh, no!" said the master, "if there be not enough for all, I must get rid of *some of you*; for you create nothing, and, without the cart horses, we shall all be starved together."

There may, indeed, be a real "*surplus population*" of *idlers*; and this is the case in England now; a real surplus of nags and fillies; these are crying out for a diminution of the number of the cart-horses; and, contrariwise to the farmer, our Government is listening to the clamour of these luxurious idlers, and seems to be as busy as bees in contriving schemes for checking the breeding and getting rid of those who do all the work and create all the resources of the country, while, at the same time, that same Government does not one single thing to check the breeding, or to get rid, of those who live in idleness out of the fruit of the working people's labour, and who are mere *consumers* and *wasters* of the nation's resources.

Let us *try* this a little, as the Yankees say; let us resort to an illustration, and see if we cannot find a better one than that of this nasty *feelosofer*, "EDWARD LUDLOW," who, by-the-by, does not tell us *where he is to be seen or heard of*. If "EDWARD" should happen to know "JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE, Esq.," who is a member under SIR GLORY, for the city of Westminster, and who, along with his master, was so pelted with cabbages and turnips, at the election, in Covent Garden, last summer; if "EDWARD" should happen to know "John Cam, Esquire," that will be just the thing; for then he will have the illustration complete. *John Cam* married a JULIANA HAY, who was a pensioner from

her infancy. There were two broods of these Hays standing on the pension-list; but one will be enough for our purpose.

'Grant, dated 1807, to James Earl of Lauderdale and others, in trust for

'Mary Turner Hay, per year . 100l.

'Dorothy Frances Hay 100

'Hannah Charlotte Hay . . . 100

'Elizabeth Hay 100

'James Hay 100

'Juliana Hay 100

Now, it is very clear that "EDWARD LUDLOW's" doctrine would apply here; for here the parties *create* nothing. I will not compare such delicate ladies to "*stock upon a farm*;" but, "*like the lilies of the field, they toil not, neither do they spin.*" They do no work, they create nothing useful, they make come neither food nor raiment nor fuel nor bedding nor houses; therefore *they* may easily be *too numerous*; because they do not, like the working classes, create subsistence in proportion to their numbers; they draw their subsistence, or, rather, *the exciseman draws it for them, out of the fruit of the labour of others*, just as the farmer brings the food to his pigs out of the fields which have been ploughed and sowed by him and the horses. Such people, therefore, if left to follow the "*unrestrained instincts of nature*," and if fed in proportion to their numbers, must soon actually cover the face of the earth, and devour up everything upon it.

But suppose that LADY JULIANA had not had the exciseman to draw subsistence for her from the fruit of the labour of the *Scotch people* (it is a Scotch affair), how would the case have stood then? She must have *worked* for what she ate and wore: she might at this moment have been weeding in the corn, and by-and-by haymaking, reaping, and then hop-picking, and in the winter, spinning and knitting. In that case, she would have *created as much as she consumed*; she would have been no *surplus*; and if she had *increased*, there would have been no harm, because her increase would, in the usual course of things, have brought "*a proportionate increase of subsistence.*" Let "EDWARD

LUDLOW" go and ask JOHN CAM (if *he be acquainted with him*) whether this be not sound doctrine; and when he is about it, to make the illustration more ample, he may ask the *Squire* how the case stands with regard even to the *Squire himself*, who is one, they say, of a family of TEN CHILDREN, and whose father has, as "*Commissioner of Nabob of Arcot's Debts*," (O Lord!) received about fifteen hundred pounds a year for nearly, or quite, the last thirty years; and, of course, *about forty-five thousand pounds on the whole*.

Here again the doctrine of "LUDLOW" applies: here is "*surplus population*:" here, if the parties were left to the "*unrestrained instincts of nature*," they would certainly devour up the earth itself in time. But if these ten persons were not thus provided for out of the fruit of other people's labour, they might now be all engaged in occupations in which they would, in some way or other, be *producers* of food, clothing, houses, ships, or some other things necessary to man; and then the addition that they would make to the population would be *no surplus*; because they would, by their labour, cause a proportionate addition to the food and other things necessary to man, and necessary to the support of the power of the country.

The conclusion, then, is this: that of those *who create useful things* by their labour, either of hands or head, there never can be too many in any country; because they will create subsistence in proportion to their numbers, and there will be less population in a given space of unproductive land than in the same space of productive land, because the subsistence must exist before the new mouths can come; but that, of those *who create nothing useful*, there may be, as there is now in this country, a great surplus population, and this may be so prodigious as to produce something very nearly approaching to general famine, as is the case at this moment in Ireland, whence the idlers bring away so much as to leave not a sufficiency even of the accursed root to keep the producing classes from starving.

To bar all cavil upon the subject, let me add, that I do not include amongst the *idlers*, lawyers, doctors, or teachers of any sort, as far as they be necessary in a country; nor the makers and administrators of the laws; nor soldiers nor sailors, *necessary for the defence* of the country. These *assist* those who create and who convey from hand to hand the things created by securing to them protection and peace, and the enjoyment of the things created. The owner of the land is no idler; for the land is necessary to all; and without an owner it could not be advantageously used. But those who draw their subsistence from those who labour, without adequate services in return; *these are the idlers*; and they do not deserve to be put on a level *with stock upon a farm*, because these we, first or last, turn into meat, shoes or coats, whereas the idlers, like the vermin that suck our blood, or those that eat up our victuals in our cupboards, are, in their lives, our torment, and, in their deaths, our disgust.

There, nasty "EDWARD LUDLOW;" now go and put forth your scheme for sending the working-people away, or for "incapacitating them for breeding;" and then go to some farm-yard, in the north of Wiltshire, and, as the reward for discovering your "*beautiful science*," have your brains knocked out by the milk-maids against the posts of the cow-cribs.

WM. COBBETT.

THE LOWTHERS seem to be resolved not to surrender at discretion, at any rate, as the following account from Whitehaven pretty clearly indicates. The affair calls for no comment other than just this, that I, for my part, am really obliged to the Lowthers for bringing out the people, and showing them what they can do if they like.

From the Morning Chronicle, 1st June.

DREADFUL RIOTS AT WHITEHAVEN,
BY LORD LONSDALE'S COLLIERIES.

WHITEHAVEN MAY 29, 1831.—I very much regret to state that the reign of terror has commenced in this town. The late Sir James

Lowther declared he would make grass grow in the streets if the people dared to think for themselves. What the views of his heir are, we shall not say; but if we were to take the conduct of his agents as a criterion, we should infer a determination that no man's life shall be safe, nor his property secure, who ventures to oppose his political views. Since the termination of the county election, at which Lord Lowther was so signally defeated, a regular system of proscription has been adopted by his Lordship's agents towards every tradesman of the town who either voted, or was suspected to entertain opinions against the Noble Lord. Yesterday, however, was the crowning effort of his departing power; and the occurrences of that day will neither be forgotten nor forgiven by the respectable inhabitants of Whitehaven, while the name of Lowther is known.

I shall endeavour, as briefly as possible, to detail the facts as they occurred. For many years past it has been customary in Whitehaven for gentlemen of all parties to meet together on the King's birth-day to drink his Majesty's health. The usual dinner was appointed to take place this year on the 28th (yesterday). The Lowther agents, mortified by their defeat at the election, refused to coalesce as usual, and immediately began to beat about for an opposition *loyalty* dinner; a word which, in this town, means subserviency to Lord Lonsdale, and not obedience to the King. They were soon able to muster names for a large party, and Whitehaven Castle (the seat of Lord Lonsdale) was the place appointed for the dinner; probably the first time that a nobleman's seat was converted into a common inn, where people were called upon to pay for what they ate and drank. I am credibly informed, however, that many persons did pay for their dinner and wines, which were furnished by one of the innkeepers of the town. The Lowther agents having taken this step, the independent party proceeded with their dinner as usual, and invited Mr. Blamire, the newly elected member for the county, to meet them. This appears to have been gall and wormwood to the Lowtherites, as you will see by their proceedings. Both parties endeavoured to muster as strongly as possible. At the castle 140 dined, the Rev. H. Lowther in the chair; at the Black Lion 70 gentlemen dined, Isaac Littledale, Esq., in the chair, supported by Mr. W. Blamire, M. P.; Henry Curwen, Esq. of Worthington Hall; John Christian, Esq., of Ewanrigg, W. Wybergh Esq., of Isell Hall; Milham Hartley, Esq., Captain Robertson Walker, R. N., and a number of the principal gentlemen and tradesmen of the town. The colliers in the employ of the Earl of Lonsdale, above one thousand in number, were allowed to leave their work, and ale in large quantities was given to them, under the direction of his Lordship's agents, at an early hour in the morning. Part of this ale was supplied by a magistrate, John Harrison, Esq.; and I have

heard that spirits were also given to them; but I cannot vouch for the authenticity of this. That two quarts of ale were given to each collier, I have on the most undoubted authority. The men having become sufficiently intoxicated to be ripe for any mischief, they were supplied with yellow flags from the Castle, and drums and fifes, and with these they began to parade the streets, insulting every one who was known or suspected to be *Blue*. About half an hour before the time appointed for the dinner at the Black Lion, they arrived in front of that inn, and immediately commenced a row. They attacked a gentleman who was going to the dinner, Captain St. Clair Wemyss, and struck him several violent blows. He ran into a house, and seized a poker, for the purpose of defending himself, and on coming out again struck one of the colliers who had attacked him, a blow on the head. His friends interfered, and got him into the Black Lion, to protect him from the mob. The mob followed him, some of them got into the kitchen and broke several dishes, &c., and repeatedly struck at Mrs. Jackson; they then endeavoured to get into the dining-room, but were repulsed and driven from the house. The Rev. Mr. Curwen and some other gentlemen went to a magistrate and the Superintendent of Police, and complained of the above conduct, and they promised that care should be taken that it should not be repeated. For about an hour after there was peace in the town; but soon after the gentlemen at the Black Lion sat down to dinner, the colliers again came in front of the inn with their flags and music, and commenced shouting and yelling. They then paraded through the streets, and soon afterwards returned, bearing an effigy of Mr. Blamire. This they paraded round the streets, and then came in front of the dining-room, and hoisted it up several times close to the windows. They then set fire to it, and it was burned amidst the most horrid yells and imprecations. By this time the crowd gathered about the inn was immense; and the colliers, who kept in a compact body, and were easily distinguishable, continued to shout and vociferate against the Blues for a considerable time, and struck at several gentlemen, who were about to leave the house. Between eight and nine o'clock the Rev. Henry Lowther (the Chairman at the Castle dinner), and a Magistrate of the county, rode through the crowd in his gig, accompanied by his sister, and while passing amongst the mob, waved yellow handkerchiefs, &c., and by their gestures (some say by words, but I have not been able to ascertain this upon sufficient authority to warrant me in repeating the words said to have been used) appeared to encourage and applaud the mob for their conduct. Immediately after the gig had passed through the crowd, and while Mr. Lowther must still have been within hearing, a volley of stones was thrown through the dining-room windows! Volley after volley was thrown, till scarcely a pane was

left unbroken. The stones had been brought up from the sea beach in baskets, and were about half a pound weight each. The gentlemen who had been dining escaped from the room as they best could. The mob having destroyed these windows, and observing that the gentlemen had all quitted the room, next commenced an attack upon the front of the house; the pannels of the door were smashed in, and several windows broken, and the mob swore that Mr. Blamire should not leave the town alive. Their object was now to get into the house; and had they succeeded, there can be no doubt but lives would have been lost, as the gentlemen had armed themselves with pokers, and such other weapons as they could lay hands upon, to defend themselves. I cannot describe to you the scene at this time; the mob were making the most violent efforts to break in, swearing they would pull the house down, or set it on fire. Those inside were defending the door with all their might. At length the besieged party made a sally out, and seized one of the fellows, whom they brought into the house, and there was a dreadful fight for some minutes at the door, having nearly overpowered those who guarded it. Several gentlemen were much cut and bruised in the conflict. Mr. G. Hartley was struck a violent blow on the head, which laid it completely open, and Mr. Hamilton, spirit merchant, was so much cut about the face, that it is feared he will lose the use of one eye. The fight, such as I have endeavoured to describe it, had now continued for nearly an hour, and yet not a single magistrate could be got to come near the place—they were dining at the Castle, and could not be disturbed! The Superintendent of Police, Mr. Heywood, who is also Clerk to the Magistrates, and a regular partisan of the Lowthers, was also at the Castle, and alleges, in excuse for his absence, that he did not hear of the riot, forsooth! The agents of Lord Lowther, who could have commanded the men home by the lifting of their little fingers, if they had wanted them to go home, were also at the Castle, and did not make their appearance! This fact has satisfied every man that they were privy to what was going on, and that if they did not give directions for it, at least they rejoiced in the work of destruction. About ten o'clock Mr. Heywood, with Mr. Jackson and Mr. Quail, two of the under stewards, arrived, and the two latter certainly exerted themselves to the utmost of their power to quell the disturbance, and so far succeeded, that several gentlemen were enabled to leave the inn without molestation. There was now a cessation of hostilities for about half an hour. In this time the colliers had gone to the pits, and armed themselves with the sharp-pointed pickaxes used in bagging coals. These must have been received with the cognizance of some one in authority. On their arrival in front of the inn, they commenced a second attack; the windows, shutters, &c. in the lower part of the house were driven in, and the doors much

injured; but they were still unable to effect an entrance. About this time one of the principal agents came amongst them and ordered them to go home. The answer he received from one of them was "Curse you for a —, didn't you send us to do all the mischief we could do, and now you won't support us!" About twelve o'clock they began to disperse. The damage done to the inn is very great. Several persons have been seriously injured. One boy has been struck upon the head with a pickaxe, and is not expected to get better. The town is in a state of great excitement. Nobody appears to doubt but that the riot was done to order from head-quarters. It is a temporary evil, but it will be a lasting good. It has destroyed the Lowther influence for ever.

DAN. STUART.

To the Editor of the Morning Post.

SIR,—Several persons having addressed me lately as one of the proprietors of the *Courier* newspaper (which I was more than twenty years), I wish it to be known that I sold my last share upwards of seven years ago; that for some years previously I took no interest in the management of the paper; and that since I sold my shares in the *Courier* I have in no respect been interested, as proprietor or otherwise, in that or any other newspaper.—Mr. William Stewart, no relation or acquaintance, is, I believe, one of the leading proprietors of the *Courier*, and the similarity of names has, no doubt, given rise to the mistake.

May 31.

DANIEL STUART.

Yes, Dan, but you do not slip out of the scrape in this way! You were proprietor of that infamous paper when it called for the *dungeoning and gagging bills* in 1817, and when it justified the *Manchester massacre* of 1819; and though SCOTT ELDON made you a *magistrate* (as he did your fellow-labourer, WALTER), and though CRAVEN and t'other fellow have made you *High Sheriffs*, your deeds shall not be forgotten while there is life in

WM. COBBETT.

Kensington, 1st June, 1831.

P. S. Why not give us the place as well as the day, Dan?

PARSONS.

I TAKE the following article from the *Morning Chronicle*. It is rather curious, and will call for a remark or two when I have inserted it.

Whilst we, in common with all right-thinking men, have regretted the part which the University of Cambridge has taken against the candidates for reform, we are satisfied, from what has come to our knowledge, that in every place where a contest has taken place, whether in boroughs or in counties, that the clergy have taken a most decided part, hostile alike to the feelings of the people and the known sentiments of his Majesty.

Lord Sandon was rejected by the clerical corporation of Taunton (which has so long been the adherent of his Lordship's family), and an insult offered to him as a reformer, by electing Mr. Spencer Perceval to be the Member for the borough. In Essex, and every place where the clergy could show their hostility to the general sense of the nation, they have not lost the opportunity of showing that hostility to the King and his Ministers which will, ere long, be brought seriously under consideration of the Parliament; for already have the people freely and fully discussed and passed an opinion of their conduct. The proceedings of the late dinner at Gateshead may be taken as a pretty good sample of the feelings of the country at large regarding the conduct and situation of the clergy. But we would call the public attention to the conduct of the clergy in the late contest for Dorset. From personal observation, it is reported to us, that the clergy in almost every parish, and the authorities under them, were employed actively in behalf of Mr. Banks, the Tory and anti-reform candidate; and that it was the irresistible sense of public duty in the breasts of the mass of the people which overcame all those exertions of the clergy and their dependents.

Of the voters at the election there were 156 clergymen who voted, of which number were—

Plumpers for Mr. Banks	98
Plumpers for Mr. Portman	5
Split votes for Portman and Banks	41
Split votes for Portman and Calcraft	12

being 144 against reform, and 12 for reform.

Not one plumper for reform or Calcraft!!!

We would ask if that is the way for the clergy to carry the public sympathy with them; and is that the best way of preventing danger to the church, which is the greatest danger alleged against reform?

Verily they dig a grave for themselves, and no efforts of power will be able to save them from the pit of their own digging.

This, in the main, is right enough; but who is LORD SANDON; and why is

not PERCEVAL as good as he? SANDON is a RYDER, a family more heavily quartered upon the public than the PERCEVALS. DUDLEY RYDER, who is the EARL of HARROWBY, as they call it, has been in office, one or another, ever since he was about two or three and twenty years old; and he is now about seventy, with now-and-then a small gap in his sublime services. RICHARD RYDER, his brother, has had either salary or sinecure for about the last forty years, and has the sinecure now. Another brother is Bishop of LICHFIELD and COVENTRY, if he be not *translated*, as they call it, to some better thing. There is a THOMAS RYDER, who was a Commissioner of Excise, and perhaps is so still. And there is another RYDER, or the same RYDER, who is Register of the Charter-house, with a good thumping salary. RICHARD RYDER above-mentioned is, I believe, Register of the Consistory Court; that pretty little snug affair, of which the *reformer*, Lushington, is the Judge. The beauty of these RYDERS, and, indeed, of the whole tribe, is, that they will take anything, however small. A clergyman told me that, at college, there was an old teacher, a Doctor of Divinity, that used to say, take any-thing that you can get, *if it be but old iron*. Old iron does not satisfy the RYDERS however; but their zeal to serve the country and maintain the constitution will make them stoop to any salary or any office. This RICHARD RYDER, for example, was once SECRETARY OF STATE; aye, and the high Secretary of State too; the Secretary of State for what is now called the Home Department, which was formerly, and which ought to be now, the only Secretary of State. Yet, you see, he stoops down, and becomes an officer under Judge Lushington. Amiable humility! I can remember the EARL of HARROWBY, as he is now pompously styled, plain DUDLEY RYDER, and an underling in office during the glory of PITT and GRENVILLE and DUNDAS. It was this very man, this very RYDER, this father of this reforming LORD SANDON, who was the chairman of the Committee of the House of Lords, who brought in the

report upon which was founded the dungeoning and gagging-bills, passed to silence the reformers in 1817. Little CLEARY's petition gave that report the lie, but ELDON protested against receiving the petition, because the petitioner had no right to know that such a report was in existence! Well done, SCOTT ELDON! Little CLEARY, if he be alive, knows that you are in existence still, and that you will have a reform bill before you before it be long.

So that, really, Dr. BLACK may console himself for the rejection of this SANDON RYDER, between whom and SPENCER PERCEVAL there is very little to choose; and if the clergy had never done any-thing worse than prefer the latter to the former, the Church would not have been brought into danger from their conduct. Neither do I agree with the Doctor as to the last part of what he says here; namely, that the clergy have *dug a pit for themselves*. It was I that dug the pit for them, and they know it, and the Doctor knows it, too; or, at least, I dug a pit, and they have chosen to fall into it. He is mistaken, too, in supposing that the clergy go the wrong way to work, in order to prevent danger to the Church. They do what they can to prevent the reform, and they can do no more. They know that nothing that they can now do, and nothing that they can leave undone, will prevent the result that is here figuratively described. They know this well; and, therefore, they argue as the boroughmongers did at the beginning of the French Revolution: if we fail, we *may* fall; but, if we do not *try* to defeat reform, we are *sure to fall*.

In the above article, Dr. BLACK refers to the dinner at Gateshead, in the county of Durham; and certainly nothing much more decisive, as a sign of the times, and as a sign of what is likely to happen with regard to the Church, has made its appearance for a long while. At Gateshead, the Friday before las, there was, according to the *Tyne Mercury*, a dinner given to the two new Members of the county, Mr. RUSSELL and Sir H. Williamson. It is a thing to be recorded; it is a thing such as very

few men ever expected to witness ; and here it is.

On Friday last a dinner was given to *William Russell, Esq.*, and *Sir Hedworth Williamson, Bart.*, Members of Parliament for the county of Durham, by the friends of Parliamentary Reform, at Mr. Robinson's, Black Bull Inn, Gateshead.

Charles Attwood, Esq. was in the Chair, supported on his right by Mr. Russell, and on his left by Sir Hedworth Williamson, Messrs. William Kell and W. H. Brockett were the Vice-Presidents. There were present besides—Colonel Mills, C. Rippon, Esq., J. Fawcitt, Esq., Dr. Headlam, Sir R. S. Hawks, John Cookson, Esq., George Hawks, Esq., G. H. Ramsay, Esq., A. L. Potter, Esq., &c.

The Chairman observed, he rose to propose a toast—"The health of their Representatives, William Russell, Esq. and Sir Hedworth Williamson, Bart." (Great applause.)

The healths of the two hon. Members were drunk with great applause.

W. RUSSELL, Esq. then rose amidst unbounded applause, and said, after the bill passed, he hoped and trusted that the merry days of Queen Elizabeth would return. He would ask, when he came forward in the first instance, did he apply to the aristocracy of the country for their interest? (Cries of "No.") He canvassed among the middling and lower classes of the community, and it was to them he was indebted for his seat in Parliament. Were all the aristocracy gathered together in a heap, they would be able to turn them all over. (Loud laughter.) This county had been called a priest-ridden county; but their rule was at an end, as had been shown at the late election. He did not fear Priests—nay, he did not fear the d—l himself.

SIR HEDWORTH WILLIAMSON, Bart., then rose, and was received with great applause. He observed, that when the great measure of reform was carried, they must still look to their interests, and beware of those men who had opposed the bill. He did not allude altogether to the no-reformers, for they candidly avowed their sentiments, but to those base creatures—the moderate reformers, who indeed were no reformers at all, but renegades to its cause. He would say, the King had done his duty; freeholders, do yours.

C. RIPPON, Esq., returned thanks for himself and his brother magistrates. Would that the enemies of Reform could witness the sight before them, when north and south responded their conquering cry, and when victory, bloodless victory, had been gained over tyranny, oppression, and wrong. (Applause.) What a glorious prospect was before them! They were about to send their representatives armed with full powers to take the spoil. Might they use those powers honestly and well, uphold the honour of God, and promote the welfare of their fellow-men! (Applause.) The exertions of the reformers would be the death-knell to abuses, both civil and religious.

He declared that he should consider *nothing as done till ecclesiastical abuses were done away—till those useless functionaries of the Church of England were removed.* He confessed that there were many splendid exceptions to this general charge against the Clergy. He himself hoped he should live and die a member of the Church of England. But he did not see any reason why other denominations, whose doctrines were in accordance with the word of God, were not equally entitled to support. Would a reformed Parliament suffer an ecclesiastical county palatine to exist? He thought not. They would, like dragons, soon become only the fitting subjects of a nursery tale. (Applause.) Bishops would cease to have any thing to do, with politics, and become what they ought to be, residential overseers. *Would a Dean and Chapter, those real sinecurists, be allowed like vampires to live on the life-blood of the constitution?* Perish that idea! All would be useful and humble teachers of God's word—living in independence, not wallowing in wealth. In short, they would have to be what now they were not. He feared that many would consider these opinions as premature and dangerous. (Cries of "No.") Let such persons look at Dublin, Cambridge, and Oxford, and they would see that the Clergy were the most determined opponents of the march of civil liberty. (Applause.)

MR. RUSSELL said, the opinions avowed by his honourable Friend, Mr. Rippon, were his own. (Applause.) He had no idea that that feeling was so strong, so unanimous, as had been manifested there against those drones, which a great part of the Clergy undoubtedly were. (Applause, and cries of "Order.") The reason that he had not expressed these opinions publicly before was, because he did not wish to give offence to any one; but when he saw the feeling so unanimous amongst them, he could not help avowing his opinions. (Applause.) *The aristocracy were now knocked on the head.* (Laughter.) *The Lords were a mere cypher.* Then came the Church. When the Reform Bill passed, he recommended them to send him petitions from all sides for the equalization of Church property. (Applause.) There was, on the one hand, an unfortunate curate working hard for 50*l.*, 100*l.*, or, at most, 150*l.* a year; and then, on the other hand, they saw a dean and chapter, and a number of bishops, with ten, twenty-five, and thirty thousand pounds a year, who really did nothing. (Laughter and applause.) They talked about a strike among the pitmen. Why should there not be a strike among the Curates? (Great applause.) He thought there needed as much reform in the Church as in the State, when he saw those men sucking the honey, and leaving the wax to these poor creatures.

After this, Dr. Black need not make himself uneasy, one would think, about the mischief that the parsons are likely

to do to themselves. This speech of Mr. RUSSELL was after dinner, to be sure, and there are some expressions in it about the aristocracy which, doubtless, have not been accurately reported; and in accordance with which I cannot express an opinion; but, as to the church, the opinions here expressed are not only mine, but they are those of the whole kingdom, tithe and tax-eaters only excepted. This was not an assemblage of Jacobins, let the parsons observe: it was not I and a set of my followers: it was a parcel of gentlemen of great estates, several of them Baronets.

On this subject, I must mention a pamphlet by R. M. BEVERLEY, Esq., of Beverley, in Yorkshire, which has made a great noise, which has passed through several editions already, and which is entitled, "A Letter to his Grace the Archbishop of York, on 'the Present Corrupt State of the Church of England.'" This pamphlet, again, is not written by a Jacobin: it is written by a gentleman; and its direct tendency and recommendation is, to take *the whole of the church property from the parsons and Bishops*. This gentleman says that he has found it to be his imperative duty to make this publication; and he has done it with great ability, great resolution, and in a manner that must produce great effect upon the minds of the people. In short, this thing is done; and I verily believe that it is this, more than all other things, which has called forth the spirit of the people in the late elections.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM

AND

LAWYER SCARLETT.

I SHALL hardly be excused by my sensible readers for inserting the following rubbish; but I cannot refrain from doing it, for the sake of recording the foolishness of the parties. Sir BOBBY is become duel-master, it seems; master of the ceremonies in "*affairs of honour!*" He must always be at something: he

must be writing histories about Buonaparte's poisoning his own soldiers: he must be writing explanations to contradict that story: he must be writing histories about the Scotch regiment taking the "*invincible standard,*" and then promising me that he will contradict the story, and then neglecting to contradict it, because the Scotch were more powerful than I was: he must be running hairbreadth 'scapes to-day, and get knighted for fighting in the army of the Emperor against the French Republicans; and to-morrow he must be immortalizing himself by assisting the Spanish Republicans to resist their king, and by assisting Lavalette to escape from his: he must be over in the Borough, working like a bee in a tar-barrel in the cause of reform, as long as it is scouted by the Ministers, and, when he sees the Ministers in earnest to let us have it, he must rush forward, side by side with his brother-General, neck or nothing, to defeat it. Now he is become *duel-master*, or judge in affairs of honour. If I were Sir Bobby, I would get the ancient court of honour re-established, and be judge in it. If I meet with any two drunken Irishmen about to fight, or any two nymphs of Drury Lane, naked to the hips, just going at it, I will certainly send him customers; but never shall I send him a couple that will make a much more despicable figure than the two suitors that he has now had to deal with. Do, pray, reader, read his letter, if you can get through it. You will say that a man able to carry a basket, or to sweep the street, ought to have his bones broken for employing his time in a manner like this. As to the hostile parties, it is really impossible to conceive anything so perfectly ludicrous as their conduct: one demands an apology, and is quite satisfied without receiving it. The other makes what he wishes to go for an apology, and yet denies that he has made any. It is like all such sorry affairs: an attempt to sustain that to which the parties have no pretensions; and the whole thing would merit contempt, and nothing but contempt, were not Sir JAMES's letter dated from the

"*Admiralty.*" That makes it a sort of public matter, that, in some measure, involves the character of the most powerful and most renowned service in the world. Sir JAMES's first care, in such a case, was to take care not to do any-thing derogatory to his high office. To have horse-whipped WILSON with his own hands would have been beneath the dignity of his station; but even that, ascribed, as it fairly might have been, to momentary indignation, would have been infinitely better than getting into this low, cocoa-tree correspondence. The high office suffers in Sir JAMES's person, and this is an injury which he has no right to inflict on the naval service of England. I thought the affair of O'GORMAN MAHON; I mean the giving of him any explanation at all, to be altogether beneath the character of a First Lord of the Admiralty; but this affair is infinitely worse. Once more, reader, I, in conclusion, beg you to have the patience to read through the affected, pompous, rigmarole stuff of Sir Bobby, who, it seems, must still be before the public, under some name, or in some form or other.

From the Morning Chronicle, 31st May.

The following appeared in the *Times* of yesterday:—

(We are requested to publish the following correspondence):—

"*Letter of Sir Robert Wilson to Sir James Scarlett.*

"MY DEAR SIR JAMES,—In conformity with my promise made to you on the 12th instant, I addressed myself to Sir James Graham, in that amicable spirit and tone with which I informed you I could only conduct the communication, to ascertain the accuracy of the expressions reported in the *Times* newspaper of the 10th inst.*

"Sir James Graham, I am gratified to be enabled to state to you, has met my feelings, wishes, and expectations, by representing verbally to me, that several of the expressions noticed were inaccurately reported, particularly the term 'infamous,' which, to the best of his recollection, he never used, and certainly never intended to use, as well as others affecting his own sense of propriety; and that he only regretted he should have made any comments upon your political conduct in your

absence; but he has assured me that he spoke under the strong excitement of the moment, without premeditation, in consequence of your name being mentioned in the crowd.

"I consider the statement of Sir James Graham, made under the beforementioned circumstances of a friendly intervention, and accompanied, as it has been, with observations and proofs afforded me, in the course of the conversation I had with him, that he could have no design to say any-thing that could affect your honour and character, to be perfectly satisfactory, both as to the objectionable expression and the *animus* of comments upon the occasion; and as he has met your feelings in the most cordial and handsome manner, I trust the subject will not be allowed to dwell any longer upon your mind to the prejudice of the personal good understanding which pre-existed.

"Yours very faithfully,

(Signed)

"R. WILSON.

"Regent-street May, 14."

Letter of Sir James Scarlett in answer to Sir Robert Wilson.

"New-street, May 15.

"MY DEAR SIR ROBERT,—I have received your letter communicating the result of your application to Sir James Graham. Having placed my honour entirely in your hands, and entertaining as I do an implicit confidence in your correct judgment and good feeling, I cannot hesitate to accept the explanation which you consider to be sufficient and satisfactory.

"I shall only add, that I am much more gratified than surprised to find that the words of Sir J. Graham's speech, as far as they regarded me, have been misreported.

"I am, &c.

(Signed)

"J. SCARLETT."

The following correspondence on the subject of the above has since taken place.—

(COPY.) "Regent-street, May 30, 1831

"MY DEAR SIR JAMES,—I cannot express the degree of astonishment and regret which I felt at seeing in this morning's *Times* the publication of a letter (marked private) which I had addressed to Sir J. Scarlett on the 14th inst., on the subject of a communication I had held with you, relative to reported observations made at the Cumberland hustings, touching the political conduct of Sir James Scarlett, and also the publication of a letter from Sir J. Scarlett to myself, in answer to that communication, but which I neither showed nor made mention of to you, as I considered the discussion definitively terminated, and that it had been terminated on a common understanding, that no other correspondence than my own was to be used as the channel of explanation.

"The publication of this correspondence has pained me greatly, for it was a condition I urged upon yourself and Sir J. Scarlett, that its inspection should be confined to one or two distinguished persons, whose names were

* The passage is in a report of the Cumberland election, taken, and stated to be taken, from the *Carlisle Journal*.

designated to me by each party, and that under no circumstances whatever should it attain any newspaper publicity—a condition I urged from regard to the real nature of my intervention, conducted in the most amicable spirit to both parties, as I stated to you in my first letter, and, subsequently, as I assured yourself personally, and from an earnest desire to prevent any hostile appearance being given to a proceeding which had truth for its object, and which proposed to keep in view your own honour, as well as that of Sir James Scarlett.

"There is nothing in the published letters themselves which can impugn your character. I do not lament the publication on that account, but as an apparent breach of covenant and confidence, which I am sure Sir James Scarlett himself would not have sanctioned, and which can only have taken place under the injudicious, unbecoming, and unwarrantable interference of others, into whose hands the letters may have fallen.

"Lest, however, under such partial statement, any misconception should be created in the public mind of the character of the proceedings, with the conduct of which I charge myself, I feel that I owe it to you to state, that I distinctly told you in my first interview, as I had before written, that I did not appear as the bearer of a hostile message, which it would not have become Sir James Scarlett in any case to have sent on newspaper report, but as a mutual friend, anxious to elucidate what had appeared to be a contracted and imperfect recital of stated expressions, so as to remove all cause of misunderstanding, if that report proved, as I believe it to be, inaccurately expressed and embodied. And it was only on this understanding you gave me from yourself, without referring me to any friend, that explanation which I considered to be most satisfactory for Sir James Scarlett, and in every respect most creditable to your own feelings and sense of what was right in such case, and which explanation is noticed in the published letter.

"It is also due to you to add, that whilst you believed that some of the reported terms were never used, and certainly never used in the personal sense affixed to them, you did not shrink from the maintenance of any which you had really used, even under the circumstances of a hustings excitement.

"A more fair, manly, and in every respect honourable line was never pursued than that which you freely and spontaneously adopted on this occasion.

"I have stated this over and over again to Sir James Scarlett, and although your character does not require any such certificate, and which, indeed, it would have been presumptuous in me to offer, except as a record of my genuine feeling, I shall now consider it to be a duty, to give that opinion such publicity, as may be expedient to counteract misapprehension or misrepresentation.

"I should still hope that the unauthorized

publication—unauthorized by Sir James Scarlett, as he has assured me this morning—would not prejudice that amicable understanding between you, which I had pleased myself with thinking I had contributed to re-establish, and that any revival of, or further reference to, the subject of our correspondence, would be deemed quite unnecessary by yourself and friends; but at the same time I think it right, after the publication in *The Times* of this day, to add, that I consider this letter as one of which you, or they, may make any use that is thought advisable.

"I remain, &c.,

(Signed)

"R. WILSON.

"The Right Honourable
Sir James Graham, Baronet."

(COPY.)

Admiralty, 30th May, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR ROBERT,—I thank you for your frank and friendly letter, which is quite in unison with the whole tenor of your conduct throughout the transaction to which you refer.

"You told me, that as the common friend of Sir James Scarlett and myself, you were anxious to remove any misunderstanding which might arise from the inaccuracy of the report of a speech delivered by me on the hustings in Cumberland; and to you, as a friend, I did not hesitate to state, that some expressions, to which you called my attention, though inserted in that report, were never used by me, especially the phrase of 'the offended majesty of the people,' words which, I am quite certain, I never uttered. I added that, to the best of my recollection, I did not apply the term 'infamous' to the prosecution for libel, instituted *ex officio* by Sir James Scarlett; and I said, generally, that the comments which I made on the public conduct of Sir James were not intended, as you seemed to apprehend, to discredit his moral character.

"Thus much to a friend I was willing to state; but neither explanation nor retraction could have been expected or obtained from me of what I had publicly declared to be my opinion of the recent political conduct pursued by Sir James Scarlett.

"Under the peculiar circumstances in which this case is placed by the publication, without your consent, of your private letter to Sir James Scarlett, I shall avail myself of your permission to publish your letter to me, with a copy of this note.

"I am, &c.

(Signed)

"J. R. G. GRAHAM.

"Lieut.-Gen. Sir Robert Wilson,
&c., &c., &c."

READ! READ!!!

JOSEPH HUME, ESQ. M. P., TO THE
EDITOR OF THE POLITICAL LETTER.

Bryanstone Square, May, 27, 1831.

SIR,—I have perused the report of your trial on the 14th instant, and must consider

your just complaints to be against the Law, more than against the Jury, for their verdict.

It is quite true, that many Juries have returned verdicts against their oaths, because they have considered the laws too severe, or not suited to the offences and to the times; and the Jury which decided on your case might, in perfect consistency with hundreds of precedents, have acquitted you of the charge brought against you. But on public grounds, I am not very sorry at their verdict, since now that juries are not disposed to assist the people in evading bad laws, the only remaining course is to *repeal them*. Yours will, I trust, be the last of the many prosecutions inconsistent with the liberty of a free state, and when reviewed dispassionately, will, I hope, induce the legislature seriously to consider the justice and the policy of immediately repealing the laws upon which it was founded.

I hope, however, that the Ministers will, of their own accord, bring in a bill to repeal the whole of the remaining six acts of Castlereagh-memory. If they be desirous to avoid the allegation already made by many persons, that they have put on part of the mantle of the Holy Alliance since they came into power, they will do so. I do not believe that there is any such disposition in the Cabinet as that above noticed; and, giving them great credit for the Reform Bill they have introduced, I am anxious they should also have the additional credit with the people, of doing so great an act of justice to the press, and through it, by that repeal, to the best interests of good government.

I confidently hope for that desirable repeal, and that Sir Thomas Denman may have the opportunity of repeating, in the House of Commons, what is attributed to him on a former occasion, namely, "that severe as the Newspaper Stamp Act is, it does not effect what its proposers contemplated," and ought, therefore, to be repealed.

Every sincere friend of his country must hope that Lord Grey as Premier, Lord Brougham as Chancellor, and Sir Thomas Denman as Attorney-General, will see the necessity of *emancipating the press from all the fetters which now restrain it*—being alike injurious to the best interests of the people, and disgraceful to the Government who imposed them, and to any other who shall retain them.

Should these great statesmen be desirous of preserving their present high character, they certainly will not allow such a blot to remain on the Statute Book.

I shall be ready to lend my humble efforts towards effecting that great public good, and hope you will not, ultimately, be a sufferer by the efforts you have made to liberate the Press.

I remain, your obedient servant,
JOSEPH HUME.

This is manifestly so good, so true, so just, so really friendly towards the

Ministry, that little need be said on it. But, upon the good old principle of giving the devil his due, I cannot help observing, that we ought not, in this case, to confine the charge to CASTLEREAGH. SIDMOUTH brought in the *banishment* bill, which he had made a *transportation* bill; and when it went back, SCOTT ELDON said they had "*spoiled the bill*;" at least, so said the reporters. It should be recollected, too, that those Acts were as much the work of CANNING and of PLUNKETT as they were of Castlereagh; and that that very PLUNKETT, who defended the Reform Bill the other day, on the ground that it was become necessary in consequence of the *increased education of the people*, defended the cramping of the press by Six Acts *on the very same ground*! We ought further to bear in mind, that, in 1827, just after CANNING got into the saddle, Mr. HUME proposed to repeal the worst of all these Acts; namely, the Act which demands from printers bail beforehand; and that, upon this occasion, he was most furiously ASSAULTED by Sir BOBBY, and also by BROUGHAM; while Old GLORY, with his knees in Canning's back, "sat as silent, and looked as modest, as a at a christening." Upon the same occasion Lord John Russell withdrew his notice of a motion FOR REFORM, and he and Brougham both said, *the people no longer wished for reform*! And where are all these now? Sir BOBBY is disposed of; LORD JOHN is, indeed, borne up, at present, on the shoulders of LORD GREY, and the puffing BROUGHAMS have found a brood of frightened boroughmongers to creep under their kelts (foh!); the DADDY GLORY is pelted with cabbages and turnips; but there stands MR. HUME on the shoulders of a million of the people.—To be sure, the press ought to be freed from *all its fetters*; otherwise it must be, as, upon the whole, it now is, *injurious to the country*. It is a *villainous monopoly*; it is under the command of money, not of talent: it is, for the far greater part, the most corrupt thing on earth; and it is *made such by the*

laws relating to it.—I want to begin a DAILY PAPER, or to cause one to be begun; but there is such *bailing* and such a *swearing* and such a mass of *penalties* to be surrounded with; there is so much insolence to endure from fellows that we pay, that I can hardly endure the thought of it, necessary as it is now become.

SEEDS

For Sale at my Shop, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, London.

LOCUST SEED.—Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound, received from America about two months ago. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivation, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "**WOODLANDS**;" or **TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD.** 8vo. 14s.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 10d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 9d. a pound; above 100lbs. 8½d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. This seed was growed last year at Barn-Elm, on ridges six feet apart; two rows, a foot apart, on each ridge. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels

of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look; and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I *warrant* this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED. Any quantity under 10lb., 7½d. a pound; any quantity above 10lb. and under 50lb., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lb., 6½d. a pound; any quantity above 100lb., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also growed at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. PYM, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth in Sussex: and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I *warrant* as the very best of the kind.

COBBETT'S CORN.—Having to quit my farm at *Michaelmas*, I could have no Corn there; but, at Kensington, I have had the finest crop I ever saw. The Tom TIT has said, that it is "*a complete failure*," and a great bleating beast, that is now laughed at by all the world, has been bawling about

Lancashire, that this corn is "*not fit for a hog to eat, though I want the poor people to live on it.*" The answer to poor envious Tommy Tit is given by the beautiful crop that I have now on sale as seed. The answer to the malignant bleating beast might be given in *one very short word.* The great use of this corn is to the labourers. On ten rods of ground I have, this very adverse year, grewed eight bushels of shelled corn; and that is sufficient to fat a pig of seven or eight score. Suppose the like comes, on an average, from 20 rods, is not this a great blessing for a labouring man? It is in this light that I have always viewed this corn as of the greatest importance. I have a room at Bolt Court, hung all over the walls with bunches of it. Those bunches would *fat a good large hog*; and I never look at it without most anxiously hoping to see the day, when the greater part of English labourers' dwellings will be decorated in the same manner. The thing to do is to *distribute a little seed amongst the labourers.* In the *Two-Penny Trash for April*, I gave them instructions for the planting and management and application of this corn. I should be glad to cause to be distributed, 200 ears of the corn amongst the labourers of each of the counties of *Berks, Bucks, Wilts, Hants, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Gloucester*, as a mark of my wish to see them once more have *bacon* to eat instead of accursed potatoes, and 500 ears amongst those of the county of *Kent*, as a mark of my particular regard for the labourers of that famous county, the first that was trodden by the feet of the saints, and that never was trodden under the hoof of a conqueror. I do not know very well how to accomplish this distribution. If any gentleman, *whom I know*, in each of the aforesaid counties, will undertake the distribution, I will give him the ears for the purpose, and a *Twopenny Trash* (containing the instructions) *along with each ear of corn.* I SELL THE CORN

AT MY SHOP IN BOLT-COURT, AT 1s. A BUNCH OF FINE EARS, SIX IN NUMBER; and the BOOK, on the cultivation and uses of it, at 2s. 6d.; which is called a TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 27, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

HUNT., T., Nicholas-lane, merchant.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

CAMERON, J., T. Johnston, and W. Bevern, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, tailors.

BANKRUPTS.

AGGETT, T., Hatherleigh, Devon, linen-draper.

BERRY, A., King-st., Portman-sq., poulterer.

CARROLL, M., Newcastle-place, Edgware-road, baker.

GOGNEY, T. C., Longlands, Kent, builder.

KREEFT, J. C. T., Fenchurch-st., merchant.

MAPLEY, J., Little Bell-alley, glass-cutter.

MARSHALL, B., Selbridge Abbey, Ireland, woollen-manufacturer.

RICHARDSON, G., Derby, wharfinger.

ROWE, W., Devonport, cabinet-maker.

SANFORD, J., sen., Stoke-Newington, coal-merchant.

TOWNSEND, S., Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, painter.

TUESDAY, MAY 31, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

NOVERRE, G. R., Clement's-la., ship-broker.

WILLOWS, W. and S., Strand, fishmongers.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

SANDERS, J., Launceston, Cornwall, tallow chandler.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

HORNCastle, J., Crooked-lane, and Upper John-street, Commercial-rd. East, money-scrivener.

HOSKINS, J. and J. Bird, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell, watch-manufacturers.

BANKRUPTS.

BOOTH, J., New Malton, Yorks., millwright.

BURTON, T., Bramham, Yorks., shoe-mkr.

DELL, T. S., Barnet, Hertfords., horse-dealer.

ELWIN, J. R., Cambridge-heath-wharf, Hackney, Coal-merchant.

GIBSON, J., Northwich, Cheshire, wharfinger.

GILL, H., South Molton, Devonshire, lime-burner.

HALE, E., Trowbridge, Wiltsh., inn-keeper.

HODGES, P., Brecon, ironmonger.

OUZMAN, J., New Sleaford, Lincolnshire, victualler.

SAYER, T. J., Beccles, Suffolk, linen-draper.

SOLOMAN, D., Birming., dealer in jewelry.

SONGHURST, R., Budge-row, Watling-st.,
box-maker.
WHITFIELD, R. W., Oxford-st., ironmonger.
WOOLLEY, J., Dalston, Middlesex, broker.
YOUNG, T., Lane-end, Staffordshire, inn-
keeper.
YOUNG, E., King's Lynn, Norfolk, beer-
brewer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MAY 30.—
Our supplies, since this day se'nnight, of each
kind of English corn, malt, and pulse, as also
English and foreign seeds, have been but
limited; of foreign wheat and Irish oats rather
great; of English and foreign flour, mode-
rately good. In this day's market, which was
rather numerously attended, both by London
and country buyers, the trade with wheat is a
little renovated, at an advance, in most in-
stances, of from 1s. to 3s. per quarter; with
barley, oats, malt, flour, seeds, beans, and
boiling peas, very dull, at last week's prices.
Hog and maple peas have become scarce, and
quite as dear as boilers, though but exceed-
ingly little is doing in them. Our seed quota-
tions are, in most instances, nominal.

Wheat	50s. to 62s.
Rye	38s. to 40s.
Barley	27s. to 30s.
— fine	30s. to 42s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	36s. to 42s.
— Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Small	40s. to 48s.
— Tick	36s. to 40s.
Oats, Potatoe	27s. to 33s.
— Poland	27s. to 31s.
— Feed	23s. to 28s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 43s. to 45s.	
Pork, India, new... 127s. 6d. to —s. 0d.	
Pork, Mess, new... 67s. 6d. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast 76s. to 84s. per cwt.	
— Carlow 78s. to 86s.	
— Cork 80s. to 84s.	
— Limerick .. 84s. to —s.	
— Waterford 74s. to 78s.	
— Dublin 78s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire 72s. to 80s.	
— Gloucester, Double.. 54s. to 64s.	
— Gloucester, Single.. 38s. to 42s.	
— Edam 46s. to 52s.	
— Gouda 44s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish..... 50s. to 60s.	

MARK-LANE.—Friday June 3.

The supplies of good wheat are small and
the prices full as high as on Monday.

SMITHFIELD—May 30.

In this day's market, which was throughout
moderately well supplied, the trade was, on
the whole, tolerably brisk; with beef, lamb,
and veal, at an advance of about 2d. per stone;
with mutton and pork at Friday's quotations.
Beasts, 2,391; sheep and lambs, 22,040;
calves, 220; pigs, 200.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thurs.	
Cons. Ann. } 83 $\frac{7}{8}$ 83 $\frac{7}{8}$ 84 $\frac{1}{2}$ 84 $\frac{1}{2}$ 84 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	

SET OF THE REGISTER.

A complete set of this work, clean
and half bound in Russia, is to be sold.
The particulars may be learnt at the
office of the Register, No 11, Bolt Court,
Fleet-street.

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work sixty thousand copies have now been
published. This is a duodecimo volume, and
the price is 3s. bound in boards.

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Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain
and Compendious Introduction to the Study
of Italian. Price 6s.

3. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote
this Work professedly for the use of the la-
bouring and middling classes of the English
nation. I made myself acquainted with the
best and simplest modes of making beer and
bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe,
words could make it. Also of the keeping of
Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which
I understood as well as any body could, and
in all their details. It includes my writings
also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Vo-
lume. Price 2s. 6d.

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tise on the preparing of the ground for plant-
ing; on the planting, on the cultivating, on
the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Fo-
rest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound
in boards.

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a Treatise on the situation, soil, enclosing and
laying out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the mak-
ing and managing of Hot-beds and Green-
houses; and on the propagation and cultiva-
tion of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and
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Orchard. And also, on the formation of
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RICA.—The Price of this book, in good print
and on fine paper, is 5s.

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27. The Siamese Twins
28. A Vision of Wittels
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30. "Ise Yorkshire too"
31. Birds of a Feather
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33. A Long Debate
34. Greenwich Fair
35. Rural Pleasures
36. "I 'Nose' a Beak"
37. Domestic Happiness
38. Domestic Misery
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TABLES.

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